

Lithgow, William,

Travels and voyages through Europe, Asia and Africa for nineteen years containing an account of the religion, government, policy, laws, customs, trade, &c. of the several countries through which the author travelled; and a description of Jerusalem, and many other remarkable places mentioned in sacred and profane history ; also a narrative of the tortures he

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Frontispiece.



WILLIAM LITHGOW

H. Gavin Sculp.

*Lo, here's mine Effigy, and Turkish Suit ;
My Staff, and Scabbard, as I did Asia foot :
Plac'd in old Illium, Priam's Scepter thralls :
The Grecian Camp design'd; lost Dardan falls.
Gird with Small Simois, Ida's tops, a Gate ;
Two fatal Tombs, an Eagle, sack'd Troy's State.*

TRAVELS and VOYAGES,
THROUGH
EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA,
FOR NINETEEN YEARS.

C O N T A I N I N G

An Account of the Religion, Government, Policy, Laws, Customs, Trade, &c of the several countries through which the Author travelled; and a Description of Jerusalem, and many other remarkable places mentioned in Sacred and Profane History:

A L S O

A Narrative of the tortures he suffered in the Spanish Inquisition, and of his miraculous deliverance from those cruelties.

By WILLIAM LITHGOW.

The ELEVENTH EDITION.

Embellished with COPPERPLATES, and illustrated with NOTES from later Travellers.

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T H E

Prologue to the R E A D E R.

*J*Udicious lector, If good books may be termed wise guides, then certainly true histories may be termed perfect oracles, secret counsellors, private schoolmasters, familiar friends to cherish knowledge; and the best intelligencers for all intendments, being duly pondered, and rightly used. This laborious work then of mine, depending on this preamble, is only composed of mine own eye-sight, and ocular experience; (pluris est oculatus testis unus, quam auriti decem) being the perfect mirror, and lively portraiture of true understanding; excelling far all inventions whatsoever, poetic or theoric. And now, to shun ingratitude which I disdain as hell, I thought it best to exhibit the profit of my painful travels to the desirous world, for two respects: the one, a natural obligation; the other, a general request: for as my dangerous adventures have been wrought out from the infinite variety of variable sights, innumerable toils, pleasures, and inevitable sorrows; so doth it also best sympathize with reason, and most fitting, that I should generally dispose of the same to the temperate judgements of the better sort, the sound and absolute opinions of the judicious, and to the variable censures of calumnious critics, who run at random in the fields of other mens labours, but cannot find the home-bred way in their own close ground. And therefore the different disposition of the good and bad, do best concur with the interchangeable occurrences of the matter.

Nevertheless, for thy more easy understanding, I have divided this history in ten several parts, and they also in three books; which being seriously perused, doubtless thy labour shall receive both profit and pleasure. Accept them therefore with the same love that I offer them to thee, since they cost thee nothing but the reading, how dear soever they are to me. But, understand me better, I scorn to draw my pen to the ignorant fool, neither shall it stoop to

the proud knave, for I contemn both. To the wise, I know, it will be welcome; to the profound historian yield knowledge, contemplation, and direction; and to the understanding gentleman, insight, instruction, and recreation; and to the true-bred poet, fraternal love, both in mien and manner. Now, as touching the hissing of snakish Papists, a rush for that snarling crew; for as this work, being fencea with experience, and garnished with truth, is more than able to batter down the stinging venom of their despiteful waspishness; so also they may clearly see therein, as in a mirror, their own blindness, and the damnable errors of their blind guiders, deceivers, and idolaters: and, above all, the cruel infliction imposed upon me, by the merciless inquisition of their profession in Malaga; which, for Christ's sake, I constantly suffered, in tortures, torments, and hunger: and lastly, They may perceive God's miraculous mercy in discovering and delivering me from such a concealed and inhuman murder. And now, referring the well-set reader to the history itself, where satisfaction lieth ready to receive him, and expectation desirous of deserved thanks, I come to talk with the scelerate companion. If thou be'est a Villain, a Ruffian, a Momus, a Knave, a Carper, a Critic, a Bubo, a Buffoon, a stupid Ass, and a gnawing Worm, with envious lips, I bequeath thee to a carnifical reward; where a flaxen rope will soon dispatch thy snarling slander, and free my toilsome travels, and now painful labours, from the deadly poison of thy sharp-edged calumnies: and so go hang thyself; for I neither will respect thy love, nor regard thy malice. And shall ever and always remain,

To the Courteous still observant, and to

the Critical Knave as he deserveth,

WILLIAM LITHGOW.

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T H E
T R A V E L S

O F

WILLIAM LITHGOW.

P A R T I.

The First Book of my Travels.

*See Rome discover'd, Italy made plain,
The Roman library, a golden gain :
Hunns old Parthenope with Venice met,
And strong Brundusium in Ottranto set :
Time's rich antiquities display'd abroad
On circling Cume, Avernus lying odd :
And Loret's chapel, four times been transported
On angels backs, from Nazareth detorted ;
Where for discourse, on this false forged lady,
To tend you with inveiglings, shall be ready.
Thus piece and piece, from soil to soil, I'll go,
And now begin ; the end will deeper grow.*

IT was a wise saying amongst the ancients, That thrice happy and blessed was that kingdom, when old men bore sway and ruled the state, and young men travelled abroad : the first by long experience prudently to execute judgement ; and the latter, by fight and knowledge of foreign countries and laws growing more judicious, might, when come to age and preferment, with more facility and dexterity exhibit justice at

A

home.

home. But what shall I say to these modern and dissolute times? when, by the contrary means, travel is slighted, government abused, and insinuating homelings thrust into high offices that are incapable of them, being prattling parrots, and founding cymbals; who convert sound judgement and justice to their own selfish and mercenary ends, turning their chief felicity to avaritious ambition and vain-glory, and their good fortunes to their belly and their back. O miserable and effeminate age! when virtue by most men is despised and neglected, and sensual vice every where exalted: Nay, ruffian Pandors, by hopeful youth and prodigal gallants, are now cloathed, coached, and richly rewarded, whilst the highest merits and deserts of men of genius are neither looked to, set by, nor regarded. And for approbation and example's sake of their valorous designs, let them think upon latter passages, not worthy to be thought upon, and they will find this future caveat to stand needful, *Hæc olim meminisse juvabit*. So likewise now every Capricullion, from Cæsar to the Pascorell, can croud and chaw, from his warbling waspishness, this stinging censure of absurd untruth, That travellers and poets may lie, and lie by authority, which they themselves perform at home without leave.

By which traditional concession, I, being absolute in the first, and born to the Muses, as to the world, a mungrel to both, may have
Concerning the world, a mungrel to both, may have
sinistrous censures. a lawful (unlawful) liberty assigned. Is there any marvel if men in this kind be so injuriously censured, when the very gospel itself, by perfidious Atheists, Formalists, Sophisters, Romish-Rabbins, Nullifidians, and schismatical sectaries, is quartered, mangled, and rejected? Such be the Satanical opinions of this hell-born age, whose confused conceits, blasphemies, incredulities, and imaginary divisions, have shamefully stained the better part of this now best world. Nay, good and godly kings, so pricked at and wounded by the viperous murmurings of miscreant villanies, as though their royal and just lives were the mere inordinate patterns of
of

of all impiety and lewdness. Since therefore the sacred scriptures, the gods of the earth, ecclesiastic columns, yea, the name and fame of the most righteous alive, be thus diversely taxed, and vituperiously calumniated, can prevention in me escape the lawless horror of this impoisoned fury? No; I have had already the assault, and newly prepared patience proof to receive more, wrought by the piercing hammer of nineteen winters, as many summers dear bought toil. Let venom-thundering critics contumeliously carp, infernal fire-brand Cerberans bark, and the hell-prepared off-scourings of true religion gnashing grudge, I have a heart can smile at their backbiting malice, a judgement to discern such wormish wasps, and, if present, the weight of understanding truth to confound their blind absurdities with reason. As for chamber-complimenters, whose vast insides, like to the vaults of wasting Strombolo, are become thread-bare, having their out-sides only adorned with rich ornaments,

Such serving cyphers, cypher childish censures,
 And shallow scal-patch'd pates, have forebald tonsures.
 Yet touch a C. flat in his face he'll start,
 As though a dame had grac'd him with a ———
 Whose wringes, winks, whose curious smiles and words,
 And scraping feet, lost blandishment affords:
 Whence pride and lust, become two servile minions
 To top his thoughts with false and fond opinions:
 Then happy they, who least frequent a court,
 Nor in the fields of flattery love to sport.

To such bellowing caves, winded with the borrowed rags of patched-up comedies, clouted compliments, stolen phrases, and lip-licked labours, of lamp-living spirits; to such hollow tombs, I say a tush for their kindness, and I justly hold it a manifest idolatry to honour or do homage to any of them. And thus much for the misconstruous lack-judgement of emulating clouds, no courtiers. And as concerning the impostrate quagmires of this abortive age, wherein so many

simonaical Machiavelians, mercenary parasites, and arch-betraying sycophants live, vindicating themselves excessively upon the advantage of time, I, insufficient I, to dive in such bottomless business, bequeath them only to their own repining consciences, just trials, and ignominious rewards. To satisfy the world in my behalf as touching my travels, I sincerely protest, that neither ambition, too much curiosity, nor any reputa-

*The reason
why the au-
thor begun
his travels.*

tion I ever sought from the bubbling breath of breathless man, (whose defective censure inclineth as instigation or partiality moveth his weak and variable opinion), did expose me to such long peregrinations and dangerous adventures past. But the proceeding whereof, thousands conjecture the cause, as many the manner, ten thousand thousands the effect: The condition reserved, I partly forbear to penetrate in that undeserved Dalida wrong; and reconciled time's pleading desistance, moderate discretion inserteth silent patience.

The manfucte cup, the gods consuetly drunk,
In me involv'd, straight honey-glad it sunk;
That sweet Ambrosian nectar, soundly wrapt
In my lock'd closet, suspicious Envy trapt;
And fierce-ey'd Jealousy, winged with wind,
Pierc'd staring Argos, turn'd his hundred blind:
Mycene fancy-fraught, lust's fond alarms,
Cross'd eye-star'd Sparta, wrapt with Phrygian charms,
And tear-rent Sophyre, Sinon-like, betray'd
What votal oaths, love's stern fort ne'er bewray'd:
But high-bred drifts, the stormy fates, grim night,
And gloomy Hellespont, robb'd Hero's right,
As Ilion's destiny, forc'd Numidia's queen
To gore a sceptre, a diadem in teen:
So hapless I belov'd, O passion strange!
May as amaz'd, admire that time, this change.
I chang'd a wolf once for a tusked boar,
And changing beast for beast, triumph'd the more:

Strain'd

Strain'd to assume, in countercombiat breath,
 A dying life, revert in living death :
 Translate it so, my metaphor is such,
 That Time, nor I, nor Fortune, can avouch.
 Thus passion whirling in a cloudy vale,
 I trancing fly, I fall, I hovering scale :
 And whilst from Phleg'ran fields, the weirds me call,
 I in Elysian plains am forc'd to fall ;
 Where in some flow'ry fair enamell'd ground
 I'll place my tomb, mine epitaph shall sound,
 Of train-shut sluices, of the Thespian spring.
 Where chatt'ring birds, Dodonean trees do sing,
 And mild Hydaspes streams do gently flow,
 There shall my Lesbian lays, sad lyrics show.
 And where the Borean roses strow the hall,
 Where flot-glass'd nymphs, the Circe fled, Greeks en-
 stal ;
 There shall shrill Triton sound, Armilla's stain'd,
 Whom foul affection prey'd, and lucre gain'd ;
 Load with the filth of dallying lust and sin,
 Where bloody murder, like a thief crept in :
 Yet shall the spotless heart triumph in truth,
 When worth reaps fame, and virtue conquers youth,
 And crown Dorasmos, faith-plight Delphian bays,
 With more than laurel praise, immortal rays.
 Than brass brow'd fiends, accurs'd by Minos doom,
 Flee fairy flight, to Pluto whence you come ;
 And taste Phlagon, Lethe, court Proserpine,
 Stern Radamanth attends such stinking vermin.
 There Hippolitus, slain Pirothous stay
 Near t' Acheron, (all faithless lovers way),
 To welcome fiendly, fright Eremial guests
 With flame-flash'd fire-brands, sulphur-scorching tastes,
 Chain'd fury brangling, in remorseless pain,
 Where Belzebub and Lucifer remain.
 In this umbrageous cell, there lurks a hound
 To bear Sarpedon's sceptre ; help to sound
 Your Cleopatra's clamours, and I think
 The ferrier Charon makes such wretches drink,

Upon the Stygian banks. Then gnashing spirits,
 That howling wail hell's inexpugnable merits,
 Where's all your gentry? for I dare conclude,
 That virtue's better born than noble blood:
 This epitomiz'd epilogue I send
 To them who best can censure't; there's an end.

But by your leave, let me enter into consideration of the intractable passage of my malecontents past, and these importunate designs thereupon ensuing: And thus have I, in the late days of my younger years, been grievously afflicted; ah, yea and with more than disastrous injuries overclouded. O heavy under-propped wrongs! But hath not the like accident befallen to man before? yea, but never the like condition of murder. Nay, but then preponderate seriously this consequent: May not the wicked hands of four blood-shedding wolves easily devour, and shake to pieces, one silly straggling lamb? yea, and most certain, that, unawares, the harmless innocent, unexpected evil, may suddenly be surpris'd by the ambushment of life-betraying foes. All this I acknowledge; but whereupon grew this thy voluntary wandering, and unconstrained exile? I answer, That being young, and within minority, in that occurrent time, I was not only inveigled, but by seducements enforced, even by the greatest powers then living in my country, to submit myself to arbitrement

*A dialogue
 between the
 author and
 himself.*

satisfaction and reconciliation. But afterward growing in years, and understanding better the nature of such unlawful redress, and the heinousness of the offence, I chus'd rather (*voti causa*) to seclude myself from my country, and exclude my relenting sorrows, to be entertained with strangers, than to have a quotidian ocular inspection, in any obvious object of disastrous misfortune; or perhaps any vindicable action might, from an unsettled rancour, be conceived. O! a plain demonstrate cause, and good resolution; for true it is, that the flying from evil, is a flying to grace; and a godly patience is

a victorious freedom, and an undaunted conqueror over all wrongs: "Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, and I will repay it." To this I answer, Mine eyes have seen the revenging hand of God upon mine adversaries, and these night-gaping foes are trampled under foot, whilst I, from strength to strength, do safely go through the fiery trial of calamities. My consolation arising from his eternal *dictum*, *Quos amo castigo*; whom I love I correct: And to say my part in my soul's experience,

I never find affliction fall on me
Without desert; for God is true and just;
Nor shall it come, and without profit be,
For God is good, as merciful, I trust.
Then welcome all afflictions sent from God,
He whom he loves, he chasteneth with his rod.

And as one of the ancients speaketh well, "*Adversa corporis, animæ remedia sunt; ægritudo carnem vulnerat, sed mentem curat*:" The affliction of the body is wholesome physic for the soul, it woundeth the flesh, but cureth the spirit. Certain it is, that the Lord, in chastising his own, doth often move the wicked reprobates of his wrath, to be the instruments of his correcting hand. I could write as large a discourse upon this heart-grieving project, as upon the late intolerable tortures I sustained by the treacherous governor and bloody inquisition of Malaga in Spain; being in quality, though not in quantity, alike. But constantly containing myself within the precinct of patience, referring such eminences to the Creator, which in a part belongeth not to the creature; I may sigh to this world, as sorrowful Æneas to his Dido;

Infandum, Regina, jubes renovare dolorem.

Thou wouldst I should renew my former grief,
To speak of sorrow, helpless of relief:

He melts in woes, who uttereth grief with words,
Whilst deepest streams the greatest calm affords.

But now to proceed in my punctual purpose. The nature of man, by an inward inclination, is always inquisitive of foreign news, yea, and much more affecteth the sight and knowledge of strange and unfrequented kingdoms; such is the instinct of his natural affection. Navigation hath often united the bodies of realms together, but travel hath done much more. For, first, It giveth to the actor the impression of understanding, experience, patience, and an infinite treasure of inexpressible virtues. Secondly, It unfoldeth to the world, the government of states, the authority and disposition of kings and princes, the secrets, manners, customs, and religions of all nations and people. And, lastly, bringeth satisfaction to the home-dwelling man, of those things he would have seen, and could not attempt. Travel hath been in more request among the ancients than it is now with us in the latter age. How philosophers, poets, historiographers, and learned divines, have peregrinated to know the life of states, and the fashions of far countries, would be an endless task for me briefly to relate. Many, I confess, long to see the remotest regions of the earth, but dare not undertake the dangers of fight, the chargeable expences of a tributary journey, the hard endurance of flint-stones, for a soft feather bed, the extremities of thirst, nor the parching heat of the sun, hunger in the belly, nor the moist distilling dew to be a humid coverlet to their tender skin, with innumerable other ensuing miseries; but, Ixion like, mistaking Juno, would, by a mere imagination, run out the sleeping course of an endless peregrination. For my part, what I have reaped is by a dear bought knowledge, as it were a small contentment, in a never contenting subject, a bitter pleasant taste of a sweet-seasoned sour; and, all in all, what I found was more than ordinary rejoicing, in an extraordinary sorrow of delights.

But now to leave the contemplation of attempts, I
come

come to the real adventure. After two voyages I made to the Orcadian and Zetlandian isles, in the stripling age of my youth, and thereafter surveying all Germany, Bohemia, Helvetia, and the Low Countries, from end to end, I visited Paris, where I remained ten months. Divers contests have I had about the equality of London and Paris in quantity and quality: but having a more serious subject in hand than this parallel, I conclude thus: The infinite shipping, and commodious navigation of London, (besides their universal commerce), is of more value, than the better half of Paris: compare you the quantity, for there is the quality of the argument. Paris, I confess, is populous, a mass of poor people, for lacqueys and pages, a nest of rogues, a tumultuous place, a nocturnal den of thieves, and a confused multitude: where, contrariwise, London is adorned with many grave, prudent, and provident senators, civil, well-taught, and courteous people, and absolutely the best governed city on the whole face of the earth, as well by night as by day, and nothing inferior in quantity to it *.

*A comparison
between Lon-
don and Paris*

From

* The city of Paris is said to be five leagues, or fifteen miles, in circumference: and if it is really so, it must be much more populous than London; for the streets are very narrow, and the houses very high, with a different family on every floor. But I have measured the best plans of these two royal cities, and I am certain that Paris does not take up near so much ground as London and Westminster occupy; and I suspect the number of its inhabitants is also exaggerated by those who say it amounts to eight hundred thousand, that is two hundred thousand more than are contained in the bills of mortality. The hôtels of the French noblesse at Paris take up a great deal of room with their court-yards and gardens, and so do their convents and churches. It must be owned indeed, that their streets are wonderfully crowded with people and carriages.

Woman has been designed a weaker man; but in France the men are, in my opinion, more ridiculous and insignificant than the women; they certainly are more disagreeable to a rational inquirer, because they are more troublesome. Of all the coxcombs on the face of the earth, a French petit maître is the most impertinent; and they are all petit maîtres, from the Marquis who glitters in lace and embroidery, to the garçon barbier covered with meal, who struts with his hair in a long queue, and his hat under his arm.—If a

Frenchman

From Paris, in the year of God 1609, March 7. I set forward, being brought three leagues on my way, with a number of my country-gallants, young Aiton, young Hutonhal, and especially Monsieur Hay of Smithfield, now Esquire of his Majesty's body-guards, with divers other gentlemen: where, when my kindest thanks had overclouded their courtesies, and farewell bid on both sides, I bequeathed my proceedings to God, my body to turmoiling pains, my hands to the burden, and my feet to the hard bruising way. And as unwilling to make relation of my passing through France, the Savoyean and Ligurian Alps, since it is manifest to many in this island, both by sight and report, I would shun, so far as possibly I can, all prolixity of known, and therefore unnecessary, discourse; although I have a large reason, having crossed the Alps at six several parts; only, in the one place, I mean to comment upon Italy in general. Upon the fortieth day after my departure from Paris, I arrived at Rome, of which I will relate some of the most remarkable things, and so proceed. This city of Rome, now extant, is not that old Rome which Romulus founded, who tempered the mortar with the blood of his brother Remus, for disdainfully leaping over the new walls, and was once the mistress of the universe for her triumphs and antiquities, but is now only the carcase of the other, of which she retaineth nothing but her ruins, and the cause of them, her sins.

Rome, which Romulus first founded, contained

Frenchman is admitted into your family, and distinguished by repeated marks of your friendship and regard, the first return he makes for your civilities, is to make love to your wife, if she is handsome; if not, your sister, or daughter, or your niece: he will rather, than not play the traitor with his gallantry, make his addresses to your grandmother.—If there were five hundred dishes at table, a Frenchman will eat of all of them, and then complain he has no appetite.—A Frenchman will sooner part with his religion than with his hair.—See a fuller character of the French in Dr Smollet's Travels, vol. I. let. 7.

these

these two mountains, Capitolino and Palatino, with the valley lying between both hills, having three ports: The first was called *Trigonio*, because of the triangle it made near to the foot of Mount Palatin: The second *Pandonio*, because it was always open, and, for the commodity of the passage, it was called *the free port*: The third was called *Carmentale*, from Carmenta, the mother of Evander, who dwelt there: It was also named *Scelerata*, or wicked gate, in regard of three hundred Sabines put cruelly to death issuing thereat.

The antiquity of Rome.

Now, after the monarchy of the Romans had attained to the full height, the Goths, a base and unknown people, displaying their banner against this glorious and imperial city, in the end razed and subverted their palaces, levelling the walls with the ground. After which detriment and overthrow, the late subdued Romans, recovering their ruinous habitations, were enforced to withdraw the situation of the town a little more downward in Campus Martius, close by the banks of Tiberis; and transported the stones of those ransacked buildings, to rebuild their new dwelling-places:

*Hic, ubi nunc Roma est, olim fuit ardua sylva,
Tantaque res paucis pascua bobus erat.*

Where Rome now stands, was sometimes desert woods,
And foil to feed some few found bestial goods.

And yet Rome was once the famous city of Europe, the mother and nurse of worthy senators, the miracle of nations, the epitome of the world, the kingdom of Mars, and the seven-headed sovereign of many provinces. The seven hills whereon she stood, and now partly somewhere stands, (for they are all contained within the vast bounds of the old walls, which as yet environeth the town), are these, Palatino, Capitolona, Viminale, Aventino, Esquiline, Cœlio, and Quirano. Which certainly do demonstrate the whore of Babylon,

Rome's seven hills.

Babylon, sitting on the beast with seven heads, and cannot be understood, but of Rome being builded on these seven hills ; having a correspondence to seven kings who reigned there, and also acknowledging seven several rulers, kings, consuls, decemviri, tribunes, dictators, emperors, and now popes. During the felicity of the Romans, this city was never taken but by the Gauls, which being recovered, they made a law that priests (being otherwise exempted) should go to war, if ever the Gauls came again, with whom they fought not for dominion, but for their own preservation : But since it became pontifical, it hath been made a prey to all barbarous nations, and never was besieged by any that took it not.

The river Tyber, which runneth through her bosom, is not unlike to Jordan and Tagus ; yet not so big as either of them, being all three of a troubled and muddy colour. But it is exceeding outrageous, and often menaceth to drown the whole mansions, as grieving to grace the walls of such a wicked and imperious place ; who, having lost their former pre-eminent glory, and domination over the world, would now alledge and ascribe a second prerogative over the souls of men, the heavens, the hells, the silver-coined purgatory, the deposing and imposing of kings : The former was done by the undaunted courage of the invincible sword, the latter by presumption, avarice, insinuation, and absurd lies.

I remember of a pretty observation of St Catharine of Siena, who being stricken in devotion, went to venerate Rome, accompanied with a goodly train, and having visited all the monuments, supposed holy places, and religious relicks there, for the space of five days ; at last she came to take a view of the Pope's palace, where having spent a whole day, strictly remarking the gesture and carriage of the Pope's servant's, she saw nothing but abomination, profanation, and irreligious living, and even worse than in Rome itself. Whereupon suddenly the next day she departed

St Catharine's observation.

departed for Siena, being an hundred miles distant, pitifully bewailing her journey, and the miserable li-
vers she saw in Rome; protesting always
after, for sixteen years time, till her death, that the wind never came from the east, blowing westward to Siena, but she thought the filthiness of the Pope's palace, and the beastliness of Rome, ever stunk in her nose.

*Meaning of
Sodomy.*

This river of Tyber especially made muster of his extravagant disgorgements at that time when Pope Clement the VIII. was crowned Duke of Ferrara, *anno* 1589; and that same night he returned to Rome, Tyber waxed so proud of his arrival, that impetuously overflowing its banks to make him welcome, it overwhelmed the better half of the town; and if it had not been for the infinite charges of the Pope, and desperate toil of the people, the violent force of his rage-swelling courtesy had absolutely subverted and carried away the rest of the city. The like inundation was never seen of Tyber as after this coronation; portending, that as the first Gomorrah was destroyed by fire; so this second Sodom should be destroyed by water. The beginning of this river springeth from the Ombrian and Aquilean hills, joining with the Alps Appenine, whose course is fourscore and sixteen miles; disburthening itself in the Mediterranean sea at Ostia, twelve miles from Rome: The mouth and haven whereof have been long dammed up, to stop the passage of hostile and Moorish incursions, lest the city should be surpris'd on a sudden: By which slavish ecclesiastical fear, Rome is shamefully defrauded of shipping and foreign traffic: and if it were not for the clergy, which are the two parts of the inhabitants, (besides the Jews and courtezans, which are the greatest implements of the other third part), it would become the most miserable town in Italy.

And notwithstanding that, for the space of twelve miles round about Rome, there are neither corns, nor wines, nor tillage, plantage, or cultivation, save only plain and pasturageous fields, intermingled at all quarters

ters with ancient watch-towers, being an old policy of the Romans, to prevent any sudden surprise of their enemies; infomuch that, at my first view of Rome, I imagined the people were all famished, or in danger of famishing.

But, by your leave, being once entered the city, I found abundance of all things necessary for life, at so easy and gentle a rate, that never a town in Europe hitherto could shew me the like. The common wine that is drunk in Rome, is vin Romanisco, the better sort, Albano, Muscatello, Sheranino; but as for *lachrymæ Christi*, the tears of Christ, I drew so hard at that same weeping-wine, till I found my purse began to weep also; and if time had not prevented the sweetness of such tears, I had been left for all the last a miserable mourner. As for the place where the pilgrims find one dinner, called *the Pope's table*, it is thus: There is a certain low room at St Peter's palace,

The pilgrims and without the gate, where, every day
dinner at the at our nine of the clock, there meet
Pope's table. twenty-one pilgrims; fourteen from the

Trinity, one having a billet for all, and seven from St Peter's penitentials: where being received, the seven Jesuit pilgrims get the upper place, and sit alone, yet all of them alike served, each of them having four dishes of meat, besides bread and abundance of wine. The dinner done, their fragments are wrapped up in clean paper, which they carry with them; and so departing, they, or like company, come no more there. They are daily served with a very venerable prelate, and a few other serviceable priests; but for the Pope's presence with them, there is no such matter. That liberty being spoiled by a drunken Dutchman, about sixty years ago, who, in presence of the Pope, gave up again his good cheer and strong wines, with a freer good-will than perhaps they were allowed him; whereat the Pope grew angry, notwithstanding the drunken fellow cried through his belching throat, Thanks, Holy Father, Dear Holy Father, God bless your Holiness.

Many

Many have wrote of the singularities of old Rome, and I will also recite some decayed monuments thereof, which I have seen. The special object of antiquity I saw, being never a whit decayed to this day, is the *templum omnium deorum*, but now *omnium sanctorum*, builded in a rotundo, and open at the top with a large round, like to the quire of the holy grave. And, a pretty way from this, are the remains of that ancient amphitheatre, beautified with great columns, of a wonderful bigness and height, and a mile in compass; the reason why it was first devised, the ghosts of the slaughtered Sabines may testify. *Rome's antiquities.* To be brief, I saw the decayed house of worthy Cicero, the high Capitol, the palace of cruel Nero, the statues of Marcus Aurelius, Alexander and his horse Bucephalus; the green hill like unto Mount Cavallo, that was made of the potters sheards at one time, which brought the tributary gold to this imperial seat; the seven pyramids, some whereof, during her former glory, were transported from Egypt; the high and small statues of Peter and Paul; the castle St Angelo, which Adrian first founded, standing now in a moderate circumferent height, with incircling battlements, and their doubtful transported relicks from Jerusalem; with many other things I diligently remarked, some whereof were frivolous, some ambiguous, and some famous.

Near to Mount Palatine, and the decayed temple of Romulus, I saw the temple of Venus, converted now to the church of Sancta Maria, *Liberatrice dalla piene di Inferno*, the deliverer from infernal pains, as Venus was the consolatrix of amorous pains.

Besides all these, I saw one object most worthy of attention, which was, the library of the ancient Romans, being permitted to enter with two gentlemen, Sir William Carr and Mr James Aughtmuty, my countrymen: where, when I was come, I beheld a world of old books. The first whereof was an infinite number of Greek Bibles, subscribed with the hands of those holy fathers,

fathers, who (as they say) translated them out of the Hebrew tongue.

I saw also the Academics of Aristotle, wherein he treateth of the soul, health, life, nature, and qualities of men, with the medicaments of Galen for the diseases and infirmities of man; the familiar epistles of Cicero, the *Æneids* of Virgil, the Saphick verses of that Lesbian Sapho, the works of *Famous authors.* Ovid, Pliny, Plutarch, Titus Livius, Horatius, Strabo, Seneca, Plato, Homer, Terentius, Cato, Hippocrates, Josephus, Pythagoras, Diodorus Siculus, Eusebius, St Austin, St Ambrose, St Cyprian, St Gregory, and likewise the works of other excellent philosophers, divines, and poets; all wrote with their own hands, and sealed with their names and manual subscriptions. I saw also the form of the first ancient writing, which was upon leaves of trees, cakes of lead, with their fingers on ashes, barks of trees, with strange figures, and unknown letters, that was brought from Egypt, for the Egyptians first devised the use thereof; and the sight of infinite obligatory writings of emperors, kings, and princes, which I omit to relate, referring the same to be registered by the next beholder.

Still left untold, something there must be seen
For them, who trace our feet with Argos eye:
Yet let them stay, and take this verbal note,
They who would better write, must larger quote.

Bidding adieu to my company, and this library, I longed to view the gorgeous Mosaical work of St Peter's church. The matter was no sooner conceived, but I went to the door, yet afraid to enter, because I was not accustomed with the carriage and ceremonies of such a *Sanctum sanctorum*; but at the last, abandoning all scrupulosities, I came in boldly, and, on my right hand as I entered within the door, I espied the portrayed image of St Peter, erected of pure brass, and fitting

ting on a brazen chair. The fashion of the people is this: Entering the church, they go straight to this idol, and saluting, with many crosses, his senseless body, kiss his feet, and every one of his several toes; insomuch that those his comfortless feet are grown fiery red, whilst his body, save his breasts, remaineth brazen blew: and yet forsooth some of their learned Rabbins will not have this superstition but an humble commemoration of their adored saints, or the like, for procuring favour of intercession, whilst the erected idol, in the mean time, receiveth all their superfluous abominations of diurnal worship. Next, they lay their heads under the sole of his right foot, and, arising, rub their beads on his hard costed belly; thus adoring that breathless mass of metal, more than though it were a living creature.

*The brazen
image of St
Peter.*

O wonderful and strange spectacle! that these, only titular Christians, should become worse of knowledge than Heathens, to worship and reverence the workmanship of mens hands. Wo and shame be unto you all blind heretical Papists, why should you make to yourselves idols and images of gold, silver, brass, iron, stone, earth, and wood? and, notwithstanding, would excuse the matter with a superstitious reason, alledging you do it only in remembrance, where otherwise it is a damnable sign of wilful obdurate ignorance. May not the prohibition of the second commandment of God's law, which absolutely you abrogate, dividing the last commandment in two, confound the error of this idolatry, ingrafted in your hardened hearts.

What virtue can be in a lump of brass? or what comfort in the devices of handycraft-men? Alas! nothing but eternal sorrow and condemnation. This was one of the lamentable errors I saw in the Roman see, amongst many other thousands. When the foolish Lystranes, or Lycaonians, would have sacrificed bulls to the honour of Paul and Barnabas, they rent their cloaths,

Superstition of Papists. and ran in among the people, crying, and saying, "O men, why do you do these things? we are even men subject to the like passions that you be." How is it then, that the apostles, being alive, would have no acknowledging by any homage of man; yet when they are dead, the Romanists will worship their counterfeit similitude, in stone or wood? What unworthy feigned traditions, and superstitious idolatry! What strange new-devising tricks they use, to plant idle monasterial loiterers! How many manner of ways these belly-minded slaves, epicure-like, lead their lives? And what a sea of abominable villany they swim into, practising even unnatural vices, I mean of their wrongfully called religious bishops, priests, friars, curates, and all the hypocritical crew of those perverted Jebusites, no heart can express, nor the most eloquent tongue can sufficiently unfold? Whose luxurious lives are vulgarly promulgate in this Hispanical proverb,

*Unnas tienen de gatto, y el habito de beato,
El cruz en los Pechos, y el diablo en los hechos.*

They have a cat's claws, and a bless'd saint's weed,
The cross on their breasts, the devil in their deed.

But, for fear of excommunication from that Antichristian courtesan, I dare not persevere longer herein, although I can; yea, and so truly bewray their all-corrupted estate, that I need no information of any Roman novice traveller. Of whose sight and experience, would God all the Papists in Britain had the like eye-witnessing approbation as I have had, I am certainly persuaded, with tears and sighs, they would heavily bemoan the terrible fall of that Babylonian whore, which, in a profane estimation, is their holy mother church. For I sincerely swear to thee, O faithful Christian, (as the Italian usually doth in his humours), by the golden-tripled crown of my ghostly father, *Paulo Papa quinto*, whatsoever sacrilege, incest, or villany, a Papist committeth

mitteth, let him come here, and fill the bribing hands of the simonaical minions of the thrice-crowned priest, (for *Roma non captat ovem sine lana*), and he shall have indulgences, dispensations, adjoined penances, or absolved offences, *Pardons for pennies.* for hundreds, thousands, less or more years *. The period of time, after eight and twenty days abode, wishing my departure, I hardly

* The Pope's revenues must be very considerable, if we only reckon what sums are annually sent to Rome from foreign countries, for dispensations, annates, palls, canonisations, and the like.

Our readers will doubtless be gratified on this occasion by seeing the fees of the Pope's chancery, from a book printed about a hundred and fifty years ago, by the authority of the then Pope, being a table or list of the fees paid for absolutions, dispensations, licences, indulgences, faculties, and exemptions. It was translated many years since, under the title of *Rome a great customhouse for sin.*

What follows are only the Pope's share. The clergy's are much more, as they have theirs in their own making.

A B S O L U T I O N S.

L. s. d.

1. For a layman that stole holy or consecrated things out of a holy place,	-	-	-	0	10	6
2. For the priest that restores not to the church the holy things he took away,	-	-	-	0	10	6
3. For him that reveals another man's confession,	-	-	-	0	10	6
4. For him who lies with a woman in the church, and there commits other enormities,	-	-	-	0	9	0
5. For him that hath committed perjury, hath wilfully and falsely forsworn himself,	-	-	-	0	9	0
6. For him that secretly practiseth usury,	-	-	-	0	10	6
7. For him that burieth an open and notorious usurer in a Christian burial-place,	-	-	-	0	12	0
8. For a layman for the vice of simony,	-	-	-	0	9	0
9. For a priest for the vice of simony,	-	-	-	0	10	6
10. For a monk for the vice of simony,	-	-	-	0	12	0
11. For him that simonically enters holy orders,	-	-	-	1	6	0
12. And his letters of absolution from the simony,	-	-	-	1	4	0
13. For a layman for murdering a layman,	-	-	-	0	7	6
14. For him that hath killed his father,	-	-	-	0	10	6
15. For him that hath killed his mother,	-	-	-	0	10	6
16. For him that hath killed his wife,	-	-	-	0	10	6
17. For him that hath killed his sister,	-	-	-	0	10	6
18. For him that hath killed his brother,	-	-	-	0	10	6
19. For him that hath killed his kinswoman, if they be of the laity, are rated at no more than	-	-	-	0	10	6
B 2				20. And		

ly escaped from the hunting of these blood-sucking in-
quisitors, of which the most part were mine own coun-
trymen; the chief of whom were, Robert Mophet, a
Jesuit born in St Andrew's, David Chambers, and, of
our college there, one Gordon, and one Cuninghame,
born in the Canongate of Edinburgh. And to speak
truth,

	L.	s.	d.
20. And his letters of absolution will cost him	0	10	6
21. But if the party so slain be a clerk, a priest, or a cler- gyman, then the murderer is bound to go to Rome, and visit the Apostolic see.			
22. For laying violent hands on a clergyman, or religious man, so it be without effusion of blood,	0	10	6
23. For the husband, or wife, who find in the morning, or when they awake, the infant lying by them to be dead,	0	9	0
24. For the husband who beats or strikes his wife, being big with child, so as thereupon she comes before her time, and loseth her child,	0	9	0
25. For a woman who, being with child, took medicinal drink to destroy her birth, or doth any other act whereby the child, being alive in her womb, is de- stroyed, is rated at	0	7	6
26. For a priest or clergyman that keeps a concubine, as also his dispensation, to save him from being ir- regular, (which, by general and provincial consti- tutions, he incurs), all this together is rated at	0	10	6
27. For a layman that keeps a concubine,	0	10	6
28. For him that hath defiled a virgin,	0	9	0
29. For him that lieth with his own mother,	0	7	6
30. For him that lieth with his sister,	0	7	6
31. For him that lieth with his godmother,	0	7	6
32. For him that lieth with any woman that is of his blood or carnal kindred,	0	7	6
33. For him that robs or spoils another,	0	12	0
34. For him that burns his neighbour's house,	0	12	0
35. For him that forges letters testimonial, &c.	0	10	6
36. For him that is a witness to such forged letters,	0	10	6
37. For him that forgeth any writs of the office of the penitentiary,	0	12	0
38. For him that forgeth letters of privilege,	1	4	0
39. For him that forgeth the Pope's hand,	1	7	0
40. For him that forgeth letters apostolical,	1	7	0
41. For him that, in a criminal cause, takes a false oath,	0	9	0
42. For him that takes two holy orders in one day,	2	6	0
43. For him that celebrateth the service of any order he hath not taken,	2	5	0
44. For			

truth, if it had not been for Robert Meggat, born near to Newbattle, then resident in Burgo-di-Roma, with the old Earl of Tyrone, who hid me secretly for three days in the top of his Lord's palace, when all the streets and ports of Rome were laid for me; who conveying me away at the fourth midnight, and leaped the

L. s. d.

44.	For him that procures himself to be promoted to a feigned title, that is, to such and such a benefice, when indeed he hath none, if he confirm with a false oath,	2	9	6
45.	For him that is ordained without letters dimissory from his own ordinary,	1	8	6
46.	For him that holds many benefices,	2	17	0
47.	For a king for going to the holy sepulchre without licence,	7	10	0
48.	For a prince who vowed to visit the holy sacrament,	1	10	0

DISPENSATIONS.

1.	For a bastard to enter holy orders, and take a benefice with a cure,	0	18	0
2.	To have two benefices compatible,	0	16	0
3.	To have three benefices,	1	6	0
4.	To marry in the fourth degree of consanguinity,	1	5	6
5.	To marry in the third degree of consanguinity,	2	6	0
6.	To marry in the second degree of consanguinity,	2	2	6
7.	To marry in the first degree of consanguinity,	2	14	0
8.	To marry her with whom one hath a special kindred,	4	10	0
9.	For him who having one wife absent, and hearing her to be dead, marrieth another, but she proving to be alive, he, notwithstanding, desireth to keep and live with the latter,	0	15	0
10.	And moreover there must be a composition with the datary, which will be sometimes 300, 400, 500, or 600 glosses, according to the quality of the persons so married; and the clerk or writer will have	0	10	6
11.	For a man or woman that is found hanged, that they may have Christian burial,	1	7	6
12.	For one that entered into his benefice by simony, that he may notwithstanding retain the same,	1	10	0
13.	For one under age to be ordained a bishop,	2	9	6
14.	For one under age to enter holy orders, and be made a priest,	2	9	6
15.	To be ordained at any time of the year,	4	1	0

the walls of Rome with me, I had doubtless died as hot a death as a Lady Priorefs of Naples did afterward in my second travels. And for better record, Patrick Baxter, now dwelling in Dundee, and then following the Earl of Tyrone, can justify the fame; my custody and my escape being both within his knowledge. Yet

I

L I C E N C E S.

	L.	s.	d.
1. For a man to change his vow,	0	15	0
2. For a layman to change his vow of going to Rome to visit the apostolic churches,	0	18	0
3. To cut flesh and white meats in lent, and other fasting days,	0	10	6
4. That a king or queen shall enjoy such indulgences as if they went to Rome,	15	0	0
5. For a queen to adopt a child,	300	0	0
6. That a king, or a prince, may exact contributions of the clergy,	3	15	0
7. If the contributions arise to a hundred thousand florins, then for the first thousand he must have	0	7	6
8. And for every other florin	0	1	6
9. That a king, upon Christmas-day morning, may cause a naked sword to be carried before him, as is carried before his Holiness the Pope,	11	5	0
10. That he that preaches before a king may give indulgence to all that hear him,	0	18	0
11. That a nobleman may go into a monastery with a certain number of followers,	0	18	0
12. To receive the sacrament, or be buried in a church interdicted,	2	5	0
13. To found an hospital,	1	4	0
14. To found a chapel,	1	4	0
15. To erect a church parochial,	1	10	0
16. To erect a church collegiate,	3	0	0
17. To erect a cathedral church,	3	15	0
18. To found a deanry to the same,	1	10	0
19. For the prebendary,	1	4	0
20. To erect an university,	11	5	0
21. To translate it from one place to another,	4	10	0
22. To make a city of a town, and therein erect a bishop's see,	75	0	0
23. That a town may have a school kept in the parish church,	2	5	0
24. For a city to coin money,	37	10	0
25. That a town which hath used green wax in its seal may use red,	3	15	0
26. For a layman to chuse his confessor,	0	15	0
27. To marry in times prohibited,	2	5	0
28. To			

I may justly affirm it, in these parts a man can find no worse enemy than his national supposed friend, religion being the cause of it; and at home none more false nor deceitful than a bosom friend.

Mens minds, their praises, best loves, and kind conceits,
They hurling come and go, like fish at baits.

And

		L.	s.	d.
28.	To eat flesh in times prohibited,	1	4	0
29.	Not to be tied to fasting days,	1	4	0
30.	To have a portable altar,	0	15	0
31.	To have mass in a place interdicted,	0	15	0
32.	To go into a nunnery alone,	0	18	0
33.	To divide a dead body into two, that it may be buried in two places,	0	18	0
34.	That during the interdict of a town, the officers may have mass and service in a chapel,	3	15	0
35.	For a town to take out of the church them that have taken sanctuary therein,	4	10	0
36.	For a priest to say mass in any place,	0	0	6
37.	For a bishop to visit,	3	0	0
38.	For a bishop to take to himself a year's profit of every vacant benefice for three years,	3	15	0
39.	To exercise episcopal jurisdiction out of his diocese,	3	0	0
40.	To exact a subsidy or benevolence of his clergy,	1	10	0

I N D U L G E N C E S.

1.	For an hospital or chapel to last one year,	1	4	0
2.	For two years,	1	10	0
3.	For three years,	1	16	0
4.	For four years,	2	5	0
5.	For five years,	3	0	0
6.	For six years,	3	15	0
7.	For the remission of the third part of one's sins,	7	10	0

F A C U L T I E S.

1.	To absolve all delinquents,	3	0	0
2.	To dispense with irregularities,	3	0	0

E X E M P T I O N S.

1.	Of friars, minors, from the jurisdiction of their provincials,	2	5	0
2.	From the jurisdiction of a bishop during his time,	3	15	0
3.	And if the abbot will have withal a licence to wear a			

B 4

mitre,

And the Italian faith, in his proverb, "God keep me from the hurt of my friends, for I know well how to keep me from mine enemies." From thence, bound eastward, I visit Naples; the commendation of which I revolve in this verse,

Inclyta Parthenope gignit Comitesque Ducesque.

Most noble Naples, breeds doth Dukes and Earls,
And gallant knights, with ladies load'n with pearls.

Among many other things near to this city, which, in the conclusion of this historical discourse will be more particularly expressed, (were Lacus Avernus, Sibilla's cave, Puteoli, the Sulphurean mountain, Capua and Cuma, where banished Æneas from Troy and Carthage arrived), I saw the monument of Virgil's burial standing in the fore-face of his own grotto, that is cut through the mountain of Cataia, being passable for coaches, and a half-mile long; and affixed these lines thereupon,

In Mantua, from mother's womb,
I first conceived breath;
Parthenope reserves the tomb,
My sepulchre of death.

	L.	s.	d.
mitre, it will cost him (by the rate-book of Pope John XXII.),	-	-	-
4. For a bishop from the jurisdiction of his metropolitan during his life,	7	10	0
5. Of a parochial church from the bishop's jurisdiction,	3	15	0
6. Of the parson of a parish from the power of his ordinary during a suit,	1	10	0
7. Of a town from any imposition,	4	10	0
8. Of a private person from the same,	2	5	0
9. Of a monastery and convent from the same, as it is found in the rate-book of Pope John XXII. it is taxed at	22	2	0

Cetera defunt.

Collection of voyages and travels, in seven volumes, vol. 5. published at London 1768, p. 7.

Italy

Italy was called so of Italus, a king in Sicily, who first taught the people agriculture. The more appropriated names were Hesperia, because it is situate under the evening star Hesperus; Latium, because Saturn, driven from Crete by his son Jupiter, *hic latebat abditus*; and OEnotria, in regard of the abundance of wines it produceth. This country was first said to be inhabited by Janus *anno mundi* 1925; from whom sprung the tribes of the Samnites, Sabines, Laurentani, and Tarentines. The second plantation was by Evander, and certain other Arcadians, who being banished from their native dwellings, seated themselves here. Thirdly, by the Trojans, under the conduct of Æneas; who, forsaking the delicious lives of the effeminate Africans, arrived here, and were kindly entertained by King Latinus, whose daughter Lavinia Æneas married. So thus from the Trojans the Italians brag of their descent; and so likewise boast divers other nations to have descended from that Dardan stock, as glorying in such a famous pedigree. The length of Italy is nine hundred Italian miles, though some allot a thousand: it is false; for I have trod four several times from end to end of it, on the soles of my feet, even from Vallese, the first town in Piemont, descending Mount Synais from La Croix southward, which secludeth Savoy, and to Capo Bianco in Calabria, hemmed in with the gulf Tareato on the one side, and the Faro of Messina on the other, it being the furthest promontory of Italy.

The first plantation in Italy.

So, in a false description, some blind geographers, through base ignorance, make England longer than Scotland in their maps, when Scotland, by the best judgements, and my own better experience, is one hundred and twenty miles longer than England. It is a manifest error, which I could wish to be reformed; as in the conclusion of this work I shall more credibly make clear.

The breadth of Italy, at the root and beginning thereof, bending along the Alps, from the Adriatic coast
to

to the Riviera di Genoa, or Ligurian shore, is but two hundred and forty Italian miles, growing narrower and narrower, till it shut out itself into two horns, Calabria and Terra di Ottranto. The breadth of which, or either, extendeth not above fourteen English miles from sea to sea; the gulf Tarento (which is unnavigable, in respect of infinite craggy shelves) dividing the two horns. On the north side of Terra di Ottranto lieth Apulia, bordering with Mare superum, a very fruitful soil for corns; and westward thence boundeth Terra di Lavoro, or *proprium regnum Neapolitanum*. These four territories make up the entire kingdom of

The kingdom of Naples. Naples: The chief cities of which are, Naples, Capua, and Salerno, in terra di Lavoro. In Calabria are Cousenza, the

chief seat of the president or sub-vicegerent, Rhegio, Allauria, and Montecilione. In Terra di Ottranto, are Ottranto; the which town being taken by Mahomet the Great, anno 1481, involved all Italy in such a fear, that for a whole year, and till the expulsion of the Turks, Rome was quite forsaken; the next are Lucia and Brundisium, beautified with a famous haven.

And in Apulia are Manfredo, Arpino where Tully was born, Venusio whence Horace had his birth, and Canno, famous for the victory of Hannibal against the Romans. The church-land begins, beyond Rome eighty miles, at Terracina, being just opposite to Gayetta, the westmost confine by the marine of the Neapolitan kingdom, near to Mount Circello, and the utmost marine limit eastward of Campagna di Roma, or the church's patrimony, embracing both seas, till it run to Ponto Centino in Tuscana, which divideth the precincts of Redi Cossine and Aquacupadente, the last frontiers of the great Duke and Pope's lands; all which bounds to Terracina, and in the way of Venice from Rome to Spoleto, are denominated Campagna di Roma, or Latium; and thence it reacheth along northwest, by the Venetian gulf, to the uttermost bounds of the Dutchy of Ferrara, being thirty miles from Venice; extending

ing in length to three hundred and fifty miles, whose breadth is narrow, and where it joineth with both seas, it is but fixty miles. The church-land is divided into four territories, Campagna-
 di-Roma, or old Latium; Rome, Viterbo, Narni, Tarni, Viletri, Montefiascone, and Civita-Vecchia, being the chief cities. Next the country of Ombria, or Ombrosa, lying between Rome and Loretta; the chief cities are Spoleto, from whence it is reckoned a dutchy, Perugia, a sacerdotall university, Fulino and Afisi, where great St Francis, with his invisible stigmata was born: at the which Afisi I saw the place (as they say) where the angel appeared to his mother, telling her, that she should conceive and bear a son, should be the champion of Jesus; and hard by they shewed me the crib and stall where he was born, with many other foolish lies, both sinful and abominable, every way representing his imaginary life like to the heavenly tract and resemblance of our blessed Saviour. The third is Marca-di-Ancona by the sea side, Ancona being principal. The other cities are Asculi, Mercerata, Tolentino, Riginati, Aguby, and parasitical Loretta. The fourth is Romania, lying along toward Ferrara, between the sea and the Apennine hills.

The four papal territories.

This ecclesiastic dowry of Romania is disjoined from Marca-di-Ancona by the Duke of Urbin's lands; which division by the sea-side is thirty miles in length, containing Pesaro, Fanno, and Sinigalia, all sea-port towns; the other of this dutchy are Urbino and Casteldurante. The chief town in Romania is Ravenna, which, for antiquity, will not bow her top to none in Italy. Here the Pope's legate remaineth. The other be Rimini, Fereola, Bologna, and Ferrara. And thus much for the Pope's four ecclesiastic territories.

Tuscana or Ætruria, lying south from the middle of this church-land, is one hundred miles in length, and as much in breadth, I mean of that belonging to the
 great

*The Duke of
Florence his
patrimony.*

great Duke : which hereditary bounds were but lately enlarged by Ferdinando, father to the late Cosmus, and brother to Mary of Medicis, the French queen-mother now living, who annexed thereunto the republics of Pisa and Siena. The other sequestrate Tuscan jurisdiction is the little commonwealth of Luca ; the chief city is Florence, whose streets are divided by the river Arno ; the other of this principality are Pisa, Siena, Pistoia, Empoli, Leghorn, and Arretzo.

From Tuscany to the west, and north-west, lieth Lombardy, intituled, *The garden of the world*, which is now divided (besides the Venetian territory, of which I will speak in its own place) into four principalities, Milan, Mantua, Parma, and Modena ; the other cities be Cremona, Pavia, Lodi, Pleasance, Rhegio, Brifles, Palestira, Navarro, and Alleffandria-di-Paglia. This province is chiefly watered through the middle with stately Po, in which Phaeton was drenched when he came tumbling down from heaven. The rivers Ladish, Montanello, Dello Guarda, and other forcible streams supporting the shoulders of it.

West from Lombardy lieth Piemont, between it and Savoy ; the city whereof, and wherein the Savoyan Duke hath his residence, is Torino, situate on Po ; the other Aste, Versailles, and Cowie. South from Piemont and Lombardy, lieth the Riviera

*Piemont and
Genoa's ju-
risdictions.*

of Genoa, along the Mediterranean sea, the territory of which is narrow, but above one hundred miles in length ; all which is exceeding rocky and mountainous, yet producing good store of oranges, lemons, figs, and chesnuts, whereon the mountaineers only live, being either roasted, or baked in bread. The chief cities of this Genoese Liguria are Genoa and Savona. Italy lying in form of a leg, is on both sides environed with the sea, save only the north-west part and root thereof, which is divided from France and Germany by the Ligurian, Savoyean, Grifonean, Zingalian,

lian, and Tirolian Alps, which bend north-east and south-west, inclosing it from the body of Europe, from sea to sea. Italy, of all other regions under the sun, hath been most subject to the vicissitude of fortune, yet not a little glorying in these famous captains, Fabius Maximus the buckler, Camillus the sword of Rome, and Scipio, Pompey, and Cæsar; for the venerable poets, Virgil, Ovid, and renowned Horace; above all, famous for the orator Cicero, and the historians Tacitus and Livius. The soil is generally abundant in all things necessary for human life, and the people for the most part are both grave and ingenious, but wondrous deceitful in their actions; so unappeaseable in anger, that they cowardly murder their enemies rather than seek an honourable revenge, and so inclined to unnatural vices, that for bestiality they surpass the Infidels. The women of the better sort are slavishly infringed from honest and lawful liberty; they of the middle rank somewhat modest in carriage, witty in speech, and bountiful in affection; they of the vulgar kind are both ignorant, fluttish, and greedy; and, lastly, the worse dregs, their impudent courtesans, the most lascivious harlots in the world. Thus much in general for the brief description of this region, and so I return to my itinerary relation.

*Italy lies as
the right arm
reaching
forth from
the main body
of Europe.*

In the mean while, having always a regard of my hasty-dispatching from Christendom, I returned through terra di Lavoro, by the sea side, Campagna di Roma, antiently Latium, and Ombria, now the dutchy of Spaleto, even to Loretta, standing in the Marca of Ancona, addressing myself to Venice for transportation. But, by your leave, let me lay down before your eyes some notable illusions of Modonna di Loretta, which I found in my way-faring journey, to amplify my former discourse concerning the errors of the Roman church, and as yet was never englished in our language.

Before I came near to Loretta by ten miles, I overtook a caroch, wherein were two gentlemen of Rome,
and

and their two concubines; who when they espied me, saluted me kindly, inquiring of what nation I was? whither I was bound? and what pleasure I had to travel alone? After I had to these demands given satisfaction, they intreated me to come up into the caroch; but I thankfully refused, and would not, replying the way was fair, the weather seasonable, and my body unwearied. At last they perceiving my absolute refusal, presently dismounted on the ground to recreate themselves in my company; and immediately the two young unmarried dames came forth also, and would by no persuasion of me, nor their familiars, mount again, saying, they were all pilgrims, and bound for Loretta (for devotion sake) in pilgrimage, and for the penance enjoined to them by their father confessor. Truly, so far as I could judge, their penance was small, being carried with horses, and the appearance of their devotion much less; for lodging at Riginati, after supper, each youth led captive his dearest darling to an unsanctified bed, and left me to my accustomed repose.

When the morning-star appeared, we resumed the way marching towards Loretta; and these vermillion nymphs, to let me understand they travelled with a cheerful stomach, would often run races, skipping like wanton lambs on grassy mountains, and quenching their follies in a sea of unquenchable fantasies. Approaching near the gate of the village, they pulled off their shoes and stockings, walking bare-foot through the streets, to this ten thousand times polluted chapel, mumbling *Pater nosters*, and *Ave-maria's* Ignorant devotion. on their beads. When they entered the church wherein the chapel standeth, I stood at the entry, beholding many hundreds of bare-footed blinded bodies, creeping on their knees and hands, thinking themselves not worthy to go on foot to this idly supposed Nazaretan house; like to this saying:

*Lauretum nudis pedibus plebs crebra frequentat,
Quam movet interius religionis amor.*

To

To Loret people haunt with naked feet,
Whom religion moves with loves fervent sp'rit.

Unto this falsely patronized chapel, they offer yearly many rich gifts, amounting to an unspeakable value, as chains, and rings of gold and silver, rubies, diamonds, filken tapestries, goblets, embroideries, and such like. The Jesuitical and penitential fathers receive all, but who so enjoy all, let *Ca-* *Rome's avarice.*
mera reverenda Romana, grant certification to this Loretan avariciousness, who fill their coffers twice in the year therewith. My four pilgrims having performed their ceremonial customs, came back laughing, and asked why I did not enter? But I, as unwilling to shew them any further reason, demanded what the matter was? O (said the Italians) *Jurando per il Cieloe Iddio Sacratissimo*, this is the house wherein the Virgin Mary dwelt in Galilee; and to the confirmation of these words, shewed me a book, out of which I extracted these annotations.

This chapel they hold to be the house in which Mary was announced by Gabriel, and wherein she conceived Jesus, by operation of the Holy Ghost. *Damnable illusions of Loretta.*

And in the mean time that devotion waxed scant amongst the Christians of the primitive church in the holy land, strangers tyrannizing over the territories of Canaan, as Heraclius, Costroes King of Persia, Saracens, and Harancone king of Egypt, it came to pass in the year of our Lord 1291, and in the time of Pope Nicholas IV. that it being shaken off the foundation, was transported miraculously by angels in the night, from Nazareth in Galilee to Torfalto in Sclavonia; the distance being by sea and land seventeen hundred Italian miles. O! a long lift for so scurvy a cell: And in the morning shepherds coming to the place of pasturage, found this house, wherewith being astonished, they returned in haste, and told St George Alleffandro, the prior of Torfalto, who in that mean while was lying sick. He being stricken in admiration

A simonaical vision.

with

with these news, caused himself to be born thither, and laid before the altar ; and falling in a marvellous trance, the Virgin Mary, by a heavenly vision, appeared to him, saying after this manner :

“ Behold thou hast often pierced the heavens with invocations for thy relief, and now I am come, not only to restore thee to thy health, but also

*A papistical
dreamed of
oration.*

to certify thee, that thou doubt nothing of this house ; for it is holy in respect of me, the chaste immaculate Virgin, ordained before all eternity to be the mother of the Most High. It was in this chamber my mother Anna conceived me, nourished me, and brought me up in singing psalms, hymns, and praises to the glory of God ; and also I kept in this room the blessed infant Jesus, very God, and very man, without any grievance or pain, brought him up with all diligent observation : And when cruel Herod sought the babe's life, by the advertisement of the angel, I, and my husband Joseph, who never knew my body, fled with him down to Egypt. And after his passion, death, and ascension to heaven, to make a reconciliation of human nature, with the court celestial, I staid in this house with John, and the other disciples ; who considering, after my death, what high mysteries had been done in it, consecrated and converted the same to a temple, for a commemoration of Christ's sufferings, the chief of martyrs. Also that resplendent image thou seest, was made by St Luke (my familiar), for eternizing the memory of my portraiture, as I was alive, by the commandment of him who doth all things, and shall reserve this sacred image to the world's end : That cross of cedar, which standeth at the side of the little western window, was made by the apostles : These cinders in the chimney touch not, because they are the fragments of the last fire I made on earth : And that shelf whereon my linen cloaths and prayer books lay, let no person come near it ; for all these places are sanctified and holy. Wherefore, my son, I tell thee, awake, and go recite the same which I have told thee unto others ; and

to confirm thy belief therein, the queen of heaven giveth thee freely thy health *."

Friar Alexander being ravished (say they) with the vision, went and reported it to Nicholas Frangipano, lord of that country: and immediately sent his prior, and other four friars, to Nazareth, whereby he might know the truth thereof; but in that journey they died. The Virgin Mary perceiving their incredulity, caused angels the second time to transport the house over the gulf of Venice, to a great wood near by the sea side, in the territory of Reginati in Italy, being three hundred miles distant. Which, when the countrymen had found, and remarking the splendor of the illuminating image, dispersed the news abroad. And the citizens of Reginati, having seen what great miracles was daily done by the virtue of this chapel, imposed then to it this name, *Our Lady of miracles*. A little while after the people resorted to it with rich gifts; there haunted in the wood many thieves and cut-throats, who robbed and murdered the pilgrims. Which innocent spilt blood, pricking their pitiful lady to the heart, she made the angels transport it the third time, and set it on the top of a little mountain, belonging to two brethren in heritage, being forty-four miles distant from the former place. But they upon a day quarrelling, and discording about the utility of the offerings to this house, the angels did remove it the fourth time, and placed it in a high broad way, where

*The shameful
opinions of the
Papists con-
cerning Lo-
retta.*

*Four times
transported.*

* Loretto consists but of one street within the gate, and another without it, and is said to contain 7000 inhabitants. It is reckoned the richest city in the world, and famous for the Santa Casa, or Holy House, where the Virgin Mary was born, saluted by the angel, and her son brought up till he was twelve years of age.

This, the Roman Catholics pretend, was carried through the air by angels from Galilee to Tersutto in Dalmatia, on the east side of the Adriatic sea, in the year 1291; and in three years and an half afterwards, transported over the gulf of Venice into Italy; and after two or three short removes, was at last settled in its present situation at Loretto. Above 500,000 pilgrims have resorted to it in a year.

— See Barrow's Geographical Dictionary on the word *Loretto*.

it standeth unremoved to this day, which place is now called the *village of Loretta* ; and from the last station nine miles distant. This was confirmed by the Papal authority to be of an undoubted truth, after a hundred and fifty-three years deliberation.

A confirmation by the Popes.

Lo, as briefly as I could, have I laid open to thy judicious eyes, the transportations, original, and papistical opinions of Loretta ; protesting, I have added nothing to the author's description, but only collected these special warrants ; omitting other infinite foolish toys, conceived through their blindfolded credulity.

This chapel, or rather dwelling-house, as they would have it, stood always alone, till of late, that Pope Clement VIII. caused to be built a glorious church over it. And here by accident I encountered with a very courteous and discreet gentleman, James Arthur, whose company was to me most acceptable : Our acquaintance being first made at the beginning of the same voyage upon the mountains of Ferrara in Paese du Bourbon, and bound to visit Venice, in his returning home from Scotland, as well as he had done Rome and other cities of Italy.

Now I remember here of a pretty jest ; for he and I going in to see the inrailed image with sparrets of iron, and musing on the blackness of her face, and the richness of her gown, all set with precious stones and diamonds ; and because she is sightless, four lamps of oil they keep always burning before her face, that the people may see her, because she cannot see them ; there was, I say, a young lusty woman hard by my elbow, busy at her beads, who, with the

A fleshly false sprung miracle.

heat of the throng, and for lack of air, fell straight in a swoon : the women about her gave a shout, and cried, that our blessed Lady had appeared to her ; whereupon she was carried forth, and laid upon the steps that descend from the chapel to the church floor, five hundred more came to visit her with salutations of *Saint, Saint, O ever blessed Saint*. Now it was Friday in

in the forenoon; and the woman having travelled all night, and to save the charges of fish, had eaten a cold bit of her own meat privately in the tavern, with half a buckale of red wine. The people more admiring this imaginary heavenly trance, than the relief of the woman, at last said I, brother Arthur, I will go open yonder woman's breast; and I did so: and holding up her head before all the people, there sprung a flood of *vin garbo* down the alabaster stairs, intermingled with lumps of ill-chewed flesh; whereat the people being amazed, from a faint, swore she was a devil: and if my friend and I had not made haste to carry the sick woman from the church to a tavern, doubtless they had stoned her to death: And here was one of their miracles.

Another time, coming back from my second travels in Afric, it was my luck to stumble in here again, where I saw an old Capuchin friar conjuring the devil out of a possessed woman, who had stayed there, and two men keeping her, above eighteen months, being twice a-day brought before the chapel. The friar stood up before her, the two men holding both her arms; and said, laying his foremost finger on her brow, "In nomine Patris, &c. Io vi cargo a dirmi per quale cagione havete posseduto l'anima di questa poveretta; et vati ne via io ti adjuro alla quei luoghi dionde tu sei venuto:" "I charge thee to shew me for what cause thou hast possessed the soul of this poor wretch; and I adjure thee to go back unto those places from whence thou camest." Mean while the woman stood dumb and silent for the space of a quarter of an hour, not being usual before: the people gave a shout and cried, the devil had left her; whereat he that held her right arm did let it fall down by her side. But, by your leave, in the twinkling of an eye, the devil in the woman gave the friar such a rattle on the face, that he was struck down upon his back among the people; and if it had not been that she was born down with strength of hands, she had torn the silly old conjurer in pieces; crying

crying, "O false and dissembling knave, pretendest thou to have power to cast out evil spirits, when thou thyself are in a worse case than I, and all thy profession too : hell, hell is your reward."

This is another of our Lady of Loretta's miracles, tho' many more I could recite. As for any more virtue of this chimerian image, I have known sick folks loaden with all kind of diseases, cripples, lame, maimed, deaf, dumb, and numbers possessed with evil spirits, lie here before this lady, till I returned again from Asia and Afric that same way ; imploring, fasting, and penitentially weeping for health : But, alas ! poor souls, they lost their labour, when they had both spent all their means, and perhaps the poorest of them three years attendance, and forced, to my knowledge, to return again to their several stations, with sorrowful and comfortless hearts.

O strange and wonderful frailty of men ! what damnable imperfections domineer over their brain-sick knowledge ! Satan, thou prince of darkness, hast so overfullied the dimmed eyes of their wretched souls, that notwithstanding of God's eternal word, (ordained to call them through the spotless blood of Christ Jesus to be the heirs and adopted sons of salvation) ; yet thou, all-abominable enemy of mankind, overthrowest both their spiritual and natural understanding in a bottomless ocean of dark ignorance ; promising to thy obdurate soldiers, to build castles in the air ; and, contrary-wise, is busy digging down dungeons, to welcome thy hellish eternised guests, with horrible torments, and never-ceasing flames of everlasting fire. What wilful hearted man can be so apt to believe, that our blessed lady had such estimation of mortar and stones, as to have (although she had power) caused angels to transport a rotten house so often ? No, I say, believe it who so will. Questionless the judgements of God, in the truth of his all seeing justice, shall reward their too credulous minds accordingly ; then shall they know their foolish and superstitious errors.

But now, to leave them with their idolatry to stones,
metal,

metal, and images, I come to their blasphemies against the sacred Deity: Look to the works of Bernardini de Busti, Bonaventure, and Fereolus Lucrus, how shamefully they derogate the glory from God, and attribute all grace, mercy, and omnipotency, to the Virgin Mary. So Ludolphus and Chrysoftom affirm, *That velocius est nonnunquam salus, invocato nomine Mariae, quam invocato nomine Domini filii ejus*: Men may oftentimes be sooner saved by calling on the Virgin Mary, than on Christ. *Omnia quae Dei sunt, Mariae sunt; quia mater et sponsa Dei illa est*: All things which are God's are the Virgin Mary's, because she is both the spouse, and the mother of God, saith a Rabbin of theirs. And as many creatures honour the Virgin Mary, as honour the Trinity, saith another: so *imperio Virginis, omnia famulantur et Deus*; all creatures, and God himself, are subject to the Virgin Mary's command. And in their Bonaventure Lady's Psalter, *Monstrare esse matrem, et coge illum peccatoribus misereri*; Shew thyself a mother, and compel him (viz. Christ) to have mercy upon sinners. Infinite citations could I produce, of such like intolerable attributes, besides the dividing of her into a thousand styles, viz. The Lady of the Wines, Lady of the Oils, Lady of the Corns, Lady of the Woods, Lady of the Mountains, Lady of the Meads, Lady of the Sheep and Goats, Lady of the Springs, Lady of the Fire, Lady of the Shepherds, from earthquakes, thunder, and fire-flashes, Lady of the Angels which is at Assisi in Umbria, Lady of Miracles in divers places, Florence, &c. Lady of life in Bologna newly found, Lady of all Noble Ladies and Nuns, Lady of the Galley-slaves, Lady of Ship-wrecking-seas, Lady of Rivers and Waters, Lady of young Children and Orphans, Lady of all Consolation, Lady of pure Virgins, Lady of distressed widows, Lady of the Sick, and Women with child, &c.; besides, the powerful Lady of Mount Ser-rata in Catalogna, the aforesaid miraculous Lady of Loretta, and the clementious Isle-ruling Lady of Tra-

*The Virgin
Mary divided
into a thou-
sand Ladies.*

pundy in Sicilia, &c. Thus they make it manifest, that she that is lady of the one, is not lady of the other, each of them having divers gifts, divers graces, divers powers as they alledge, divers chapels, divers offerings, and divers pilgrimages, according to the several seasons, imminent or past perils, peculiar invocations, and the particular need of each family, man, woman, and living creature.

Whereby it plainly appeareth, by their own acknowledgements, she is neither superior in power, universal in power, nor equal in power to God: For if she were, one chapel, one name, one place, one pilgrimage, one offering would suffice for all. They chatter over on their beads ten *Ave-Maries* to our Lady, and but one *Pater noster* to Christ. They make their orations thrice a-day in the streets to the Virgin, and none to God: They say God divided the kingdom with the Virgin, reserving to himself Justice, granted to his mother mercy; wherefore if any man be aggrieved with God's justice, he may appeal to the court of her mercy.

But to conclude, their blasphemies and horrible lies: Blessed is the blessed Virgin Mary (the mother of Christ according to the flesh) above all women for ever and ever.

Leaving both this and Loretta, and returning to my purpose, James Arthur and I embarked
Ancona. at Ancona, (fifteen miles from thence),
 in a frigate: This city of Ancona, in the time of Trajanus the emperor, flourished mightily in fame and reputation, and is yet a gallant place to this day.

Contemnunt omnes Anconia monia Turcas.

This sea-strong town, set on a promontore,
 Defieth the Turks with its defensive shore.

It glories not a little in giving name to the whole province lying between Ombria and Romania, and is situate

situate on a hill that shooteth into the sea like a promontory, having a fair haven built by Trajanus. It hath but one gate; whence arose the proverb, *Un porto nel Ancona, un Petro nel Roma, e un torre nel Cremona*; One gate in Ancona, one Peter in Rome, and one steeple in Cremona, being exceeding high.

Along this Adriatic coast, I saw no remarkable thing save the two cities Rimini and Ravenna; which were famous in the days of Octavius Cæsar, but now somewhat impoverished, in regard of divers incursions sustained; and shoaring along with them, the Duke of Urbin's three sea-port towns, Sinigalia, Fanno, and Pesaro. We sailed by the mouth of Rubicon, called now Pissatello, (which Julius Cæsar passed over against the ordinance of the senate, and afterward seized upon Rome, putting Pompey to flight). I saw the place where the bloody battle was fought between the French and Spaniards, *anno Domini 1512*; but the victory fell to the Gauls, with the loss of nineteen thousand men on every side, and they have erected singular monuments there, in a perpetual memory thereof. After three days sailing, (having passed by Malamucco, which is the haven of the great Venetian ships), we arrived at St Mark's place in Venice.

Mine associate and I were no sooner landed, and perceiving a great throng of people, and in the midst of them a great smoke, but we began to demand of a Venetian, what the matter was? who replied, There was a Gray friar burning quick at St Mark's pillar, of the reformed order of St Francis, for begetting fifteen young noble nuns with child, and all within one year; he being also their father confessor. Whereat I sprung forward through the throng, and my friend followed me, and came just to the pillar, as the half of his body and right arm fell flatlings in the fire. The friar was forty-six years old, and had been a confessor of that nunnery of Sancta Lucia five years. Most of these young nuns were senators daughters; and two of them were only come in to learn virtue, and yet fell in the midst of vice.

*A Gray friar
burnt for vil-
lanous letch-
ering.*

These fifteen with child were all recalled home to their Father's palaces; the Lady Priores, and the rest of her voluptuous crew, were banished for ever from the precincts of Venice. The monastery was razed to the ground, their rents were allowed to be bestowed upon poor families, and distressed age, and their church to be converted to an hospital. Most part of all which Mr Arthur and I saw, before ever we either eat, drank, or took our lodging in Venice. And I cannot forget how, after all this, we being a hungered, and also overjoyed, tumbled in, by chance, alla capello Ruoffo, the greatest ordinary in all Venice, near to which the friar's bones were yet a-burning; and calling for a chamber, we were nobly and richly served: After dinner they laid up our budgets and our burdens, and abroad went we to see the city: night come, we supped, and supped alone. The next morn

The chief Venetian ordinary. I begun to remark the grandeur of the inn, and saw it was time that we were gone. I demanded our dependent what was to pay? he answered, *Ut pseudo all*

huomo parciascun ripasto, A crown the diet for each of us, being ten julets, or five shillings Sterling: Mr Arthur looked upon me, and I laughed upon him. In a word, our dinner and supper cost us forty julets, twenty shillings English, being four crowns, whereat my companion being discontented, bad the devil be in the friar's ballocks, for we had paid soundly for his lechery. Many like deaths, for like causes, and worse, have I seen in all my three voyages, if time could permit me to particularise them; but from this thou must play the learned geometrician, till thou findest more.

Cingitur urbs Venetum pelago, ditissima nummis.

This town most rich, to dare the main is shut
In Neptune's bosom, and sea-stretched cut.

Venice is a garden of riches, and worldly pleasures,
the

the chief flower of common-weals, and the perfect mirrour of civil and politic government. This sequestrate city, is situate in the bosom of Neptune, and divided from the world with a part of his main body, which environeth the island.

The commonwealth of Venice containeth Marchadel Trevisa, which lieth in Lombardy, containing these cities, Trevisa, Padua, Vin-

The territories of Venice.

cenza, Verona, Brescia, the second city for bigness and beauty in all Lombardy, Bergamo, Chiozza, and Rovigno. Friuli, formerly called *Forum Julii*, lieth in the strait between the east end of the Alps, and the Adriatic sea, in length fifty, and in breadth forty miles. It hath been often subject to the vicissitude of fortune. The chief town is Treista, in the bottom of the gulf, and Palma, lately built by the Venetians 1583, being the most impregnable, and best fortified town in Italy. Friuli was a Dukedom founded by the Lombards, at the beginning of the Venetian commonwealth: Afterwards Luitprandus, one of the Dukes, envying the increase of the dominion of Venice, made war against them, which ended in the loss of his own country. The rest are Istria, a part of Dalmatia, the islands Candy, Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Serigo, Tino, Val di Campare, Lesina, and others of lesser note.

The Venetians, howsoever of old they have been great warriors, they are now more desirous to keep, than enlarge their dominions; and that by presents and money, rather than by the sword of true valour; so that whatsoever they lose by battle, it is observed, they recover again by treaties. The Venetians are said to have descended of the Hennets in Asia Lesser, who assisting the Trojans, and Troy being lost, their king Pterilimene slain, they fled away with Antenor; and, arriving in this part of Italy, seated themselves, till the report of the Huns design against

Italy made them (avoiding the storm before it fell) to draw into these islands and marshes where now it standeth.

The first plantation of Venice.

It was first founded and begun, *anno* 421,

March

March 25. being distant from the main land five miles, and defended against the fury of the sea, by a bank extending to fifty miles in length ; through which, in eight places, there is a passage broken for small boats, but no way for vessels of any burden, save at Malamucco, and the castle of Lio : yea, and so dangerous, that there is neither outgoing, nor incoming, without a pilot, which maketh the city unconquerable.

This city is seven miles in compass, and from so base and abject a beginning, it is now grown (as it were) to be the chief bulwark of Europe : The Duke of this Adriatic Queen, espouseth the sea every Ascension-day, by casting a golden ring into it. Which foolish ceremony was granted by Pope Alexander III. when he fled to Venice for succour, being persecuted by Frederick Barbarossa ; and the Venetians vanquishing Otho, the Emperor's son, restored the Pope, and, for a reward, was honoured with this espousal.

The length of the territory of Venice in Lombardy, lying along the foot and south side of the Alps, amounteth to 125 miles ; the breadth whereof in the planure is narrow, but stripeth larger among the hills and lakes, and very populous.

The applauding Italian saith, That
The Venetians Europe is the head of the world, Italy
are sprung of the face of Europe, and Venice the eye of
the Romans. Italy. And indeed it is the strongest and
 most active part of that powerful body ;
 whereby it would appear, that in the last subversion of
 the latter monarchy, the Roman genius made a Pythagorical transmigration into Venice ; whose peace hath procured the plenty, and whole wars the peace of all Christendom. The laws of this city permit not the younger sons of the best gentry to marry, lest the number increasing should diminish the dignity ; yet nevertheless they permit them unlawful pleasures, and, for their sakes, allow public stews. The Jews here, and in Rome, wear red and yellow hats for notice sake, to distinguish them from others ; which necessary custom,
 would

would to God, were enjoined to all the Papists here in England; so should we easily discern them from the true Christians. And, finally, to discourse upon the provision of their magnificent arsenal, artillery, ammunition, and armour, the division of streets with channels, the innumerable bridges of stone and timber, their accustomable kind of living, apparel, courtesies, and conventions; and, finally, the glory of gallants, galleries, gallies, galleasses, and galleons, were a thing impossible for me briefly to relate. Wherefore, since the situation thereof, and the decorations of their beautiful palaces, are so well known, and their general customs by the better sort, I desist, concluding thus: This incomparable mansion is the only paragon of all the cities in the world.

Mine afore said consort and I having spent ten days in viewing and reviewing this city, and circumjacent isles, and my purpose reaching for Greece and Asia, as his was to recross the snowy Alps, my muse remembereth our sad departure:

Now friendly Arthur left me, courts the main
 Of pleasant Lombardy: by Trent again
 Bears through the Alps, in his Tirolian ways,
 And past Bavaria, where Danubio strays:
 He fell on Rhine, and down these curlings came;
 Then shipp'd for Allion, near to Rotterdam:
 And coasting Isis, view'd that royal court,
 Where once Apollo did in glory sport,
 Fraught with Ambrosian nectar, crown'd his days
 On Pindus tops, to have Mæcenas praise.
 This light obumbrate, Arthur courts the north,
 And served a noble Earl * of ancient worth
 Full eighteen years; till death that darts our woe,
 First smote his Lord, and then his Countess so.
 Now they are fled, and he is left alone,
 Till heavens provide his hopes some happy one:
 Which if to his desert, such fortune came,

* The Earl of Glencairn.

A princely service might his merit claim.
Where wishing both his fate, and worth to be,
I'll Venice leave, and visit Lombardy.

In the time of my staying here, I went forth to Lombardy, and visited the famous cities of Padua, Verona, and Ferrara. The commendation of which is celebrated in these verses :

*Extollit Paduam, juris studium et medicina.
Verona, humanæ dat singula commoda vitæ.
Exhaurit loculos Ferrarea ferrea plenos,*

In Padua I stayed three months learning the Italian tongue, and found there a country-gentleman of mine, Doctor John Wedderburne, a learned mathematician, but now dwelling in Moravia, who taught me well in the language, and in all other respects exceeding friendly to me. Padua is the most melancholy city of Europe, the cause only arising of the narrow passage of the open streets *, and of the long galleries, and dark ranges of pillars, that go all where on every hand of you through the whole streets of the town. The scholars here in the night commit many murders against their private adversaries, and too often executed upon the strangers and innocent, and all with gun-shot, or else stilettos. For beastly sodomy, it is as rife here as in Rome, Naples, Florence, Bullogna, Venice, Ferrara, Genoa, Parma not being exempted, nor yet the smallest village of Italy : A monstrous filthiness, and yet to them a pleasant pastime, making songs, and singing sonnets of the beauty and pleasure of their *bar-dassi*, or buggered boys.

* Its figure is circular, and about seven or eight miles round ; but the streets are narrow, ill paved, and dirty. Over the four gates of the town-house are the statues and busts of four illustrious Paduans ; namely, the immortal Titus Livius Albertus Patavianus, Petrus Aponus the architect of this structure, and an astronomer, with Paulus Patavinus. Padua lies twenty-four miles west of Venice. — Barrow's Geographical Dictionary, on the word *Padua*.

I commend the devotion of Venice and Genoa beyond all the other cities of Italy; for the Venetians have banished the Jesuits out of their territories and islands; and the Genoese have abandoned the society of Jews, and driven them from their jurisdiction. The Jews and the Jesuits are brethren in blasphemies; for the Jews are naturally subtle, hateful, avaricious, and, above all, the greatest calumniators of Christ's name; and the ambitious Jesuits are flatterers, bloody-gospellers, treasonable tale-tellers, and the only railers upon the sincere life of good Christians. Wherefore I end with this verdict, the Jew and the Jesuit is a pultroon and a parasite.

*A comparison
of Jews and
Jesuits.*

PART

P A R T II.

*Now step I o'er the gulf, to th' Istrian shore,
 Dalmatia, Sclavonia, Illyria, more;
 Valona, Albana, Epyre in Greece,
 And Morea fat, where Jason hurt his fleece;
 The Adriatic and Ionean isles,
 And Lefina's great monster; Athens styles;
 With Lacedæmon sack'd, and Sparta rent
 From ancient worth; Arcadia poor and sbent;
 O'er gulf Lepanto, the Ætolian height,
 And all these coasts, till Candy come in sight,*

AFTER my return from Padua to Venice, and twenty-four days attendance wasted there for passage, I embarked in a carmoesalo, being bound to Zara Nova in Dalmatia. Scarcely had we lost the sight of Venice, but we encountered with a deadly storm at Sero-co e Lenante. The master had no compass to direct his course, neither was he expert in navigation; because they use commonly, either on the south or north sides of the gulf, to hoist up sails at night, and against break of day they have full sight of land, taking their directions from the topped hills of the main continent. The tempest increasing, and the winds contrary, we were constrained to seek up for the port of Parenzo in Istria.

Istria was called *Giapidia*, according to Pliny. Cato affirmeth it was called *Istria*, of one Isiro; but by the modern writers, *Pultima regione di Italia*. By Ptolomæus it is said to be of length one hundred miles, and forty large; but, by my experience, only eighty long, and twenty broad.

Istria hath, on the south, Friuli and the sea; on the west, Stria; on the north, Carniola; on the east, the gulf

gulf Carnaro, or Quevero. It is thought the Istrians were first a people of Colchis, in Natolia, who by King Ætas being sent to pursue Jason, and the Argonauts, (who had stolen the golden fleece, and his daughter Medæa), either because of the long journey, or fear of the king's anger, durst not return, and so remained in this country, where they enjoyed a long freedom, till, by many incursions of piracy, still molesting the Venetians, they lost many of their towns *anno* 938, and afterward the whole country made tributary by Duke Henry Gondolo, about the year 1200.

The antiquity of the Istrians.

That part which bordereth with the sea belongeth to the Venetians; but the rest, within land, holds of the Emperor and the Archduke of Austria. The country itself aboundeth in corns, wines, and all kinds of fruits necessary for human life. Near to this haven wherein we lay, expecting room winds, I saw the ruins of old Justinopoli, so called by Justinian the Emperor, who builded it upon an island of a mile's length, and three acres broad; and to pass betwixt the city and the firm land, there were seven bridges made. It was anciently strong, but now altogether decayed. The principal cities in Istria at this day are these, Parenzo, Humago, Pola, Rovigo.

Justinopoli decayed.

The winds favouring us, we weighed anchors, and sailed by the isles Brioni, so much esteemed for the fine stones they produce, called *Istriennes*: which serve to beautify the Venetian palaces. About mid-day I saw Mount di Caldaro; on the foot of which the ancient city of Pola is situated, having a harbour wherein small ships may lie. True it is, this port is not much frequented, in respect of a contagious lake near to it, which infecteth the air with a filthy exhalation. I saw, hard by this place, the ruins of the castle di Orlando, the ark triumphant, and the relicks of a great amphitheatre. This Pola was called by Pliny *Julia pietas*; and it standeth in the south-east part of Istria.

Continuing

Continuing our course, we passed the perilous gulf of Carnaro.

This gulf or bay of Carnaro runneth in north and by east fifty miles within land, at the narrow entry whereof it hath a part of Istria on the west, and Dalmatia on the east. The Venetians use to keep always certain gallies at the mouth of this bay, on the Dalmatian side, to intercept the cursary of the Scoks: In the bottom of this Carnarian gulf are placed Serna, Gradisca, and Novagard, the chief cities of Croatia. The people which inhabit these towns, and the adjoining country, are called *Scoks*, a kind of Dalmatians, being of a robust nature, courageous, and desperate. Their weapons are broad two-handed swords, long skenes, carrying targets at their girdles, and long guns in their hands. They are marvellous swift on foot, and daily annoy by land their neighbouring Turks with inroads, fetching away great spoils and booties of corns, cattle, and horses; and by sea, with frigats and

*The Scoks
live under
the house of
Austria.*

brigantines, did ever and often vex the Venetian commerce in their own domestic waters. The great losses which from these incurfive people the Venetians had from time to time received, and the other damages they inflicted upon the Turks in their trafficking with Venice, or whom the Venetians are bound by former articles of peace to keep harmless within their own gulf from all Christian invasions, was the only and urgent cause that moved the Venetians to wage war with Ferdinando, then Duke of Grasse, and now Emperor, *anno Domini* 1616. They besieged Gradisca to their no small disadvantage, both of charges and loss of men; for the town being strongly fortified with walls and ammunition, and two thousand Scoks within to defend it, would often, at the near approaching of the enemy, make a sally forth on horse and foot, giving many miserable overthrows to the assailants; to the which detriments, for twenty days space, I was a testator, being after my return from Afric in my second travels, as I was going for Hungary, Moldavia, Valachia,

Valachia, and Transilvania, taking this country in my way ; and one morning at the break of day, I saw eight hundred Scoks issuing out of town make bloody havock of three thousand of the Venetian army. This part of Croatia is exceeding fertile, abounding in corns, wines, bestial, and pasturage, though then by lawless and turbulent foldiers it was miserably defaced.

The whole number of these Scoks that are able to carry arms, be not above six thousand men. They are wonderful kind to strangers, which to me in no small measure was extended, and that by the better sort, their captains and commanders, and only for the affinity of Scoki and Scoti, although I dare swear there is little or none at all betwixt the two nations.

Having passed Carnaro we sailed close by the isle Sangeo, called formerly *Illirides*. This isle is of circuit fourscore, and of length thirty miles. Our fresh water waxing scant, and the winds falling out contrary to our expectation, we sought into Valdogosto in the isle of Osero, which is a safe haven for ships and gallees. This Osero was first named Asphorus, and then Absirtides, of a Captain Absirtus, who came from Colchis, accompanied with many people, to bring back Medea to her careful father, whose purpose being frustrated, staid still and inhabited this land. A fit opportunity obtained upon the eighth day, we arrived in the road of Zara in Dalmatia ; for there the carmoesalo staid, and I was exposed to seek passage for Ragusa.

By the way, I recall the great kindness of that Dalmatia master ; for offering my condition, I found him more than courteous, and would have no more but the half of that which was his bargain at Venice. Besides this, he also entertained me three days with a most bountiful and kind acceptance. My solitary travelling he oft bewailed, wishing me to desist, and never attempt such a voyage ; but I giving him absolute and constant answers, appeased his imagined sorrow.

True it is that ignorance and sloth make every thing
D terrible

*Ignorance
and sloth.*

terrible unto us, and we will not, because we dare not, and dare not, because we will not. This makes us submit ourselves to any thing that doth either flatter or threaten us; and like some sottish weaklings that give the reins of their government into the hands of their wives or servants, thinking then they buy their peace when they sell it; thus do they grow upon us, I mean ignorance and sloth, and by composition, not force, become masters of the place, being just so strong as we are weak: and as contrary news delivered at one time maketh one to hear with joy and remember with sorrow; even so an unresolved man, in high and heroic designs, though seeming forward, is distracted here, set on fear there, and rent asunder every where, with the flashing frights of desperation; but a constant resolution can courageously support all things, “*Ubi-cunque homo est, ibi beneficio locus est.*” And congratulating this skipper’s courtesy, I bad farewell to his council.

Zara is the capital city of Dalmatia, called of old *Jadara*. The inhabitants are governed by a Camarlingo, or chamberlain, in the behalf of Venice, the walls whereof are strongly rampired with earth, surpassing the tops of the stone-work, and fortified also with high bulwarks, and planted canons on elevated ramparts of earth, which are above forty cubits higher than the walls and bulwarks, standing in the four several corners of the city.

There lie continually in it a great garrison of soldiers to defend the town and citizens, who are maintained by the Duke of Venice; for he is Signior thereof. They have indured many invasions of the Turks, especially in the year 1570, when, for the space of fourteen months, they were daily molested and besieged, but the victory fell ever to the Christians. If the Turks could win this place, they might easily command the Adriatic seas, in regard of that fair haven which is there to receive ships and gallies, which maketh the Venetians not a little fearful because of their safeguard.

Yet

Yet they permitted the neighbouring Infidels to traffic with them ; but when they enter the gates, they must deliver their weapons to the corporal of the squadron-company. Neither may they stay within all night, under the pain of imprisonment. Dalmatia was called so of Mauritius the Emperor. The four principal provinces whereof are these, Atheos, Senebico, Spalleto, and Tragurio. A part of which belongeth to Venice, another part to the Archduke of Austria, and a third unto the Turks. Zara is distant from Venice two hundred miles.

When the wandering night was chased from the inferior islands by the returning day, and the sun had imparted his brightness to our under neighbours, and our dreams ready to possess the theatre of the fancy, the wearisome creatures of the world declining to their rest, and under shadow of the pale lady of the night, even then from Zara I embarked in a small frigate, bound for Lefina, with five Slavonian mariners, who sometimes sailed, and sometimes rowed with oars. In our way we passed by the isle of Brazza, which is of no great quantity, but fertile enough for the inhabitants, and kept by a gentleman of Venice. It lieth in the mouth of the gulf Narento, that divideth Dalmatia from Slavonia. Many fondly conceive, that these two kingdoms are all one ; but I hold the contrary opinion, both by experience, and by ancient authors. Having passed Capo di Costa, which is the beginning of Slavonia, I saw, upon my right hand, a round rock, of a great height, in form of a pyramid, being named, by eastern mariners, *Pomo*, anciently *Salyro*, for the good falcons that are bred therein. It standeth in the midst of the gulf between Slavonia and Italy, and not habitable.

A little beyond that rock, I saw the three isles Tremiti, the chief whereof is called *Teucria* ; but they are vulgarly called *the isles of Diomedes*, who was king of *Ætolia*. They are right opposite to Mount Gargano, now called *St Angelo*, *Mount St Angelo*, and distant from the main land of *Apulia* in Italy about nine miles.

This Mount St Angelo standeth in Apulia, bending in the sea with a large promontory; it is in compass ninety miles. Near to this mountain was that great battle fought between Hannibal and the Romans. The overthrow fell to the Romans, under the conduct of Paulus Æmilius, and other consuls, of whom were slain forty-two thousand and seven hundred; and if Hannibal had followed this victory, he had easily that day subdued the commonwealth of Rome; which made Maharbal, captain of his horsemen, rebuke him thus: *Vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis.*

Thou canst o'ercome thy foes in bloody fight,
But cannot use the victory aright.

The like said Cæsar of Pompey, when he lost the first battle they fought at Pharsalia in Greece: "O Pompey, Pompey, if thou hadst known how to have used the victory, as thou hadst it, thou mightest have been this day lord of the whole world."

So to our lamentable memory may that last battle be recorded, fought in Hungary between
A woful battle. the Turks and Christians, of whom Maximilian Duke of Isbrugh, this present Emperor's uncle, was general; who having had a nocturnal victory, and the infidels put to the flight, they remaining in the camp more busy about the spoils than their own safety, the Turks returned again before day, the Christians being disordered with booties, and the ravaging of their whores, they put them all to the edge of the sword. O miserable confusion! Little better might I speak of the battle of Lepanto, being abused even in the sight of it; and that glorious victory no wise followed, as good fortune had given them an awful opportunity. For Don John of Austria, their general, had a great mind to seize upon the isle of Corfu, and to rob Venice of her liberty, then to prosecute with vengeance the brave beginning of so notable a victory; and yet his treachery was discovered, and by the Venetian
general

general speedily disappointed, to his eternal shame both ways.

The poor Slavonians being exhausted in their hunger-starving boat, with extraordinary pains, (for we had three days calm, which is not usually seen in these seas), were enforced to repose all night at the barren isle of St Andrew. This isle is of circuit four miles, but not inhabited. The excessive rain that fell in the evening made us go on shore to seek the coverture of some rock; which found, we lay all night on hard stones, and with hungry bellies; for our provision was spent. The break of day giving comfort to our distressed bodies, with favourable winds at the Garbo e ponente, we set forward, and about mid-day we arrived in the port of Lefina, of which the isle taketh the name.

The isle of Lefina is of circuit a hundred and fifty miles, and is the biggest island in the Adriatic sea. It is exceeding fertile, and yieldeth all things plentifully that is requisite for the sustenance of man. The city is unwalled, and of no great quantity; but they have a strong fortrefs, which defendeth the town, the haven, and the vessels in the road. The governor, who was a Venetian, after he had inquired of my intended voyage, most courteously invited me three times to his table, in the time of my five days staying there; and at the last meeting he reported the story of a marvellous mis-shapen creature born in the island, asking if I would go thither to see it; wherewith (when I perfectly understood the matter) I was contented: The gentleman honoured me also with his company, and a horse to ride on, where, when we came, the

captain called for the father of that monster, to bring him forth before us. Which unnatural child being brought,

*A monster
born in Lefina.*

I was amazed in that sight to behold the deformity of nature; for below the middle part, there was but one body, and above the middle there was two living souls, each one separated from another with several members. Their heads were both of one bigness,

but different in features. The belly of the one joined with the posterior part of the other, and their faces looked both one way, as if the one had carried the other on his back, and often, before our eyes, he that was behind, would lay his hands about the neck of the foremost. Their eyes were exceeding big, and their hands greater than an infant of three times their age. The excrements of both creatures issued forth at one place, and their thighs and legs of a great growth, not suitable to their age, being but six and thirty days old; and their feet were very proportionally made like to the foot of a camel, round and cloven in the midst. They received their food with an insatiable desire, and continually mourned with a pitiful noise. That sorrowful man told us, that when the one slept, the other awaked, which was a strange disagreement in nature. The mother of them bought dearly that birth, with the loss of her own life; as her husband reported, unspeakable was the torment she endured, in that woful wrestling pain. I was also informed afterwards, that this one, or rather twofold, wretch, lived but a short while after we saw them.

Leaving this monstrous shapen monster to his own strange, and almost incredulous nativity, we returned to Lesina. But by the way of our back coming, I remember that worthy gentleman shewed me the ruins of an old house, where the noble King *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* was born; and after I had yielded my bounden and dutiful thanks unto his generous mind, I hired a fisher-boat to go over to Clissa, being twelve miles distant. This isle of Clissa is of length twenty, and of circuit sixty miles. It is beautified with two profitable sea-ports, and under the signiory of Venice. There are indifferent good commodities therein; upon the south side of this island lieth the isle of Pelagusa, a rocky and barren place.

Departing from thence in a carmoesalo bound to Ragusa, we sailed by the three isles, Brisca, Placa, Igezi. And when we entered the gulf of Cataro, we fetched up the sight of the isle Melida, called of old *Meligna*.

Meligna. Before we could attain unto the haven, wherein our purpose was to stay all night, we were assailed on a sudden with a deadly storm: inso much that every swallowing wave threatened our death, and bred in our breasts an intermingled sorrow of fear and hope; and yet hard by us, and within a mile to the leeward, a Barbarian man of war of Tunis, carrying two tire of ordnance, and two hundred men, seized upon a carmoesalo of Venice, at the first shot, she being laden with malvasie and muscadine, and come from Candy, and had us also in chase, till night divided our contrary designs. The winds becoming favourable, and our double desired safety enjoyed, both because of the sea-storm, and of the stormy pirate, we set forward in the gulf of Cataro, and sailed by the isle Cursola.

In this island I saw a walled town called *Cursola*, which hath two strong fortresses *Cursola*. to guard it. It is both commodious for the traffic of merchandise they have, and also for the fine wood that groweth there, whereof the Venetian ships and galleys are made; an island no less pleasant than profitable; and the two governors hereof are changed every eighteen months, by the state of Venice.

It was of old called *Curcura*, *Melana*, and of some *Corcira Nigra*, but by the moderns *Cursola*. Continuing our course, we passed by the isles of Sabionzello, Torquollo, and Catza Augusta, appertaining to the republic of Ragusa. They are all three well inhabited and fruitful, yielding corns, wines, and certain rare kinds of excellent fruits. It is dangerous for great vessels to come near their coasts, because of the hidden shelves that lie off in the sea, called *Augustini*, where divers ships have been cast away in foul weather. Upon the second day after our loosing from Clissa, we arrived at Ragusa.

Ragusa is a commonwealth, governed by senators, and a senate-council. *Ragusa.* It is wonderful strong, and also well guarded, being situate by the sea-side. It hath a fine haven, and many goodly ships thereunto belonging.

The greatest traffic they have is with the Genoese. Their territory in the firm land is not much, in respect of the neighbouring Turks; but they have certain commodious islands, which to them are profitable. And notwithstanding of the great strength and riches they possess, yet, for their better safeguard and liberty, they pay a yearly tributary pension unto the great Turk, amounting to fourteen thousand zechins of gold; yea, and also they pay yearly a tributary pension unto the Venetians, for the isles reserved by them in the Adriatic gulf; so that both by sea and land they are made tributary citizens. The most part of the civil magistrates have but the half of their heads bare, but the vulgar sort are all shaven like to the Turks.

This city is the metropolitan of the kingdom of Slavonia. Slavonia was first called *Liburnia*, next *Illira*, of Illirio, the son of Cadmus, but lastly named *Slavonia*, of certain slaves that came from Sarmatia, passing the river Danubio, in the time of the Emperor Justinian. Croatia, lying north-west from hence, is the third province of this ancient Illiria, and was formerly called *Valeria*, or *Corvatia*. It hath, on the west, Istria and Carniola; on the east and south, Dalmatia; on the north north-west, a part of Carindia quasi Carinthia; and northerly, Savus. So much as is called *Slavonia* extendeth from the river Arsa in the west, the river Drino in the east, on the south bordereth with the gulf of Venice, and on the north with the mountains of Croatia. These mountains divide also Ragusa from Bosna. Bosna is bounded on the west with Croatia; and on the south with Illiricum, or Slavonia; on the east, with Servia; and on the north, with the river Savus.

The next two special cities in that kingdom are Sabenica and Salona. The Slavonians are of a robust nature, martial, and marvellous valiant fellows, and a great help to maintain the right and liberty of the Venetian state, serving them both by sea and land, and especially

especially upon their galleys and men of war. From Ragusa I embarked in a tartareta, laden with corn, and bound to Corfu, being three hundred miles distant.

In all this way we found no island, but sailed along the main land of the Illirian shore. Having passed the gulf of Cararo, and Capo di Fortuna, I saw Castello Novo, which is a strong 4000 Spaniards starved to death. Solyman, starved to death four thousand Spaniards. Having left Illiria, Albania, and Valona, behind us, we sailed by Capo di Palone, the large promontory of which extendeth to eight miles in length, being the face of a square and main rock. This high land is the furthest part of the gulf of Venice, and opposite against Capo di Sancta Maria, in Apulia, each one in sight of another, and fourteen leagues distant. Continuing our navigation, we entered into the sea Ionium, and sailed along the coast of Epire, which was the famous kingdom of the Epirotes, and the first beginning of Greece. Epirus is environed, on the south, with the sea Ionian; on the east, with Macedon; on the west north-west, with Albania; and on the north, with a part of Rascia, and the huge hill Hæmus: of which mountain Stratonicus was wont to say, that for eight months in the year it was exceeding cold, and for the other four it was winter. This long mountain divideth also Greece from Mysia, called vulgarly Bulgaria, lying on the north of Hæmus, and to the south of Danubio, even eastward to the Euxine sea; which river parteth also Dacia from Mysia, the superior; the which Dacia, being an ancient and famous country, containeth these provinces, Transilvania, Moldavia, Vallachia, Servia, and Bosna. Here in this kingdom of Epire was the noble and valiant Pirrhus king, who made so great wars upon the Romans, and at last, by a woman of Argos, was killed with a stone. The most valiant captain George Castriot, surnamed Scanderberg, the great Scanderberg. terror and scourge unto the Turks, was

born

born here; of whom it is recorded, he flew at divers battles, with his own hands, above three thousand Turks, obtaining also many fortunate victories against Amurath and Mahomet: After whose death and burial his body was digged up by the Turks; and joyful was that man that could get the least bit of his bones to preserve, and carry about with him, thinking thereby, so long as he kept it, he should always be invincible, which the Turks observe to this day, and likely to do it to their last day. And more,

Renown'd Epire, that gave Olympia's life,
Great Alexander's mother, Philip's wife.

In this country are these two rivers, Acheron and Cocytus; who, for their mineral colours, and bitter tastes, were firnamed *the rivers of hell*; and the sacred Mount Pindus, consecrated to Apollo and the muses, so well memorised by the poets, is here. It is now called *Mezzona*; at the foot of which springeth the river of Peneia, called modernly *Salepiros*, but more properly *Azababa*; and keeping his extremest course through the fields of pleasure, named by the ancients *Tempe*, being five miles long, and as much large, lying between the two hills Ossa and Olympus, and watering that beautiful plain, the fair Peneian spring, or Azababan river, disburdeneth itself in the gulf Theffalonick. This is the first kingdom of Greece, and of a great length, consisting between the westmost part of Albania, as a perpendicular province annexed to it, and the Arcadian Alps, which divide Ætolia and Acarnania; the eastmost regions of it, from Sparta, Theffaly, and the old Mirmidons country of Macedon, amounteth to four hundred and eighty miles, lying along by the sea-side, whose breadth extendeth all the way long northward, to the hill Hæmus, above sixty-eight miles. The chief town of Epire, where the kings had their residence, was called *Ambracia*, modernly *Laerto*, named of a river running by it. And upon the

the sixth day after our departure from Ragusa we arrived at Corfu.

Corfu is an island no less beautiful than invincible *. It lieth in the Ionian sea : the inhabitants are Greeks, and the governors Venetians. This isle was much honoured by Homer, for the pleasant gardens of Alcino, which were in his time. This Alcino was that Corcyrian poet, who so benignly received Ulysses after his shipwreck ; and of whom Ovid said,

*The isle of
Corfu.*

*Quid bifera Alcinoi referam pomaria ? vosque
Qui nunquam vacui prodistis in æthere rami.*

Why blaze I forth Alcinoe's fertile soil,
And trees, from whence all times they fruit recoil ?

This isle was given to the Venetians by the Corsicans anno 1382, because they were exposed to all the injuries of the world. It lieth like to a half-moon, or half a circle, east and north. The eastern cape is called *Leuchino*, the other northward *St Katerina* ; the second town whereof is called *Pagleopoli*. It is of circuit one hundred and twenty, in length fifty-two, and thirty-seven in breadth, and fourteen miles distant from Epire. The city Corfu, from which the isle hath the name, is situate at the foot of a mountain, whereupon are built two strong fortresses, and environed with a natural rock. The one is called *Fortezza Nova*, and the other *Fortezza Vecchia*. They are well governed, and circumspectly kept, lest, by the instigation of the one captain, the other should commit any treasonable effect, And for the same purpose, the governors of both castles, at their election before the senators of Venice, are sworn, neither privately nor

* The island of Corfu lies in the Ionian sea, about four miles west of the coast of Epirus in European Turkey. It is seventy Italian miles long, and thirty broad. It was famous for King Alcino's gardens. — Barrow's geographical Dictionary, on the word *Corfu*.

openly to have mutual conference, nor to write one to another, for the space of two years, which is the time of their government. These castles are inaccessible,

Two strong castles. and unconquerable, if the keepers be loyal, and provided with natural and martial furniture. They are vulgarly

called *the forts of Christendom* by the Greeks, but more justly *the strength of Venice*; for if these castles were taken by the Turks, or by the Spaniards, who would as gladly have them, the trade of the Venetian merchants would be of no account; yea, the very means to overthrow Venice itself.

Corfu, formerly Corcyra, was by some called *Phæacia*, so denominate from a virgin of that name, who was here supposed to have been deflowered by Neptune. This isle produceth good store of wines, oil, wax, honey, and delicate fruits.

From thence, after certain days abode, I embarked in a Greekish carmoesalo, with a great number of passengers, Greeks, Slavonians, Italians, Armenians, and Jews, that were all mindful to Zante, and I also of the like intent, being in all forty-eight persons. Having room-winds, and a fresh gale, in twenty-four hours we discovered the isle Cephalonia the greater, and sailed close along Cephalonia minor, or the lesser Ithaca, called now Val di Compare, being in length twenty, and in circuit fifty-six miles, renowned for the birth of Laerte's son Ulysses.

From th' Ithac rocks we fled Laerte's shore,
And curs'd the land that dire Ulysses bore,
For Ilion's sake, with Dardan blood attir'd,
Whose wooden horse the Trojan temples fir'd.

On our left hand toward the main, we saw an island called *St Maure*, formerly *Leucas*, or *Leucada*; which is only inhabited by Jews, to whom Bajazet II. gave it in possession, after their expulsion from Spain: The chief

chief city is St Maure, which not long ago was subject to Venice. This isle St Maure was anciently joined with the continent, but now rent asunder, and environed with the sea. During the course of our passage, the captain of the vessel espied a sail coming from sea; he presently being moved therewith, sent a mariner to the top, who certified him she was a Turkish galley of Biserta, prosecuting a straight course to invade our bark: which sudden affrighting news overwhelmed us almost in despair. The affrighted master having demanded of every man what was most proper to be done, some replied one way, and some another; in-somuch, that the most part of the passengers gave counsel, rather to surrender than fight; being confident their friends would pay their ransom, and so relieve them. But I, the wandering pilgrim, pondering in my pensive breast my solitary estate, the distance of my country and my friends, could conceive no hope of deliverance. Upon the which troublesome and fearful appearance of slavery, I absolutely arose, and spoke to the master, saying, "The half of the carmoesalo is your own, and the most part also of the loading, (all which he had told me before); wherefore my counsel is, that you prepare yourself to fight, and go encourage your passengers, promise to your mariners double wages, make ready your two pieces of ordnance, your muskets, powder, lead, and half-pikes; for who knoweth but the Lord may deliver us from the thralldom of these infidels." My exhortation ended, he was greatly animated therewith, and gave me thanks; whereupon, assembling the passengers and mariners, he gave good comfort, and large promises, to them all: so that their affrighted hopes were converted to a courageous resolution; seeming rather to give the first assault, than to receive the second wrong.

*A counsel to
fight.*

To perform the method of our defence every man was busy in the work; some below in the gun-room, others cleansing the muskets, some preparing the powder and balls, some their swords, and short weapons, some

some dressing the half pikes, and others making fast the doors above; for so the master resolved to make combat below, both to save us from small shot, and besides for boarding us on a sudden. The dexterous courage of all men was so forward to defend their lives and liberty, that truly, in my opinion, we seemed thrice as many as we were. All things below and above being cunningly perfected, and every one ranked in order with his harquebuss and pike, to stand in readiness for his own defence, we recommended ourselves into the hands of the Almighty; and in the mean while attend their fiery salutations.

In a furious spleen, the first holla of their courtesies was the progress of a martial conflict, thundering forth a terrible noise of galley-roaring pieces; and we, in a sad reply, sent out a back-sounding echo of fiery flying shots, which made an equivox to the clouds, rebounding backward in our perturbed breasts the ambiguous sounds of fear and hope. After a long and doubtful fight, both with great and small shot, (night parting us), the Turks retired till morning, and then were mindful to give us the new rencounter of a second alarm. But as it pleased him, who never faileth his, to send down an irresistible tempest, about the break of day we escaped their furious designs; and were enforced to seek into the bay of Largostolo in Cephalonia; both because of the violent weather, and also for that a great lake was sprung in our ship. In this fight there were of us killed, three Italians, two Greeks, and two Jews, with eleven others deadly wounded, and I also hurt in the right arm with a small shot. But what

A notable deliverance.

harm was done by us amongst the infidels, we were not assured thereof, save only this, we shot away their middle mast, and the hinder part of the poop; for the Greeks are not expert gunners, neither could our harquebuss do much annoy them, in respect they never boarded. But howsoever it was, being all disembarked on shore, we gave thanks to the Lord for our unexpected safety, and buried

buried the dead Christians in a Greekish churchyard, and the Jews were interred by the sea-side.

This bay of Largaſtolo is two miles in length, being environed with two little mountains; upon the one of theſe two ſtandeth a ſtrong fortrefs, which defendeth the paſſage of the narrow gulf. It was here that the Chriſtian gallies aſſembled in the year 1571, when they came to abate the rage of the great Turks armado, which at that time lay in Peteraſſo, in the firm land of Greece, and right oppoſite to them, and had made conqueſt the year before of noble Cyprus from the Venetians.

The iſle of Cephalonia was formerly called *Ithaca*, and greatly renowned, becauſe it was the heritable kingdom of the worthy Ulyſſes, who excelled all other Greeks in eloquence and ſubtilty of wit. Secondly, by Strabo it was named *Dulichy*: And, thirdly, by ancient authors *Cephalonia*, of Cephalo, who was captain of the army of Cleobas *Cephalonia of Amphitryon*. The which Amphitryon, *old Ithaca*. a Theban captain, having conquered the iſland, and ſlain in battel Pterelaus King of Teleboas, for ſo then was the iſland called, gave it in a gift of government to Cephalo. This Cephalo was a noble man of Athens, who being one day at hunting, killed his own wife Procris with an arrow, inſtead of his prey; whereupon he flying to Amphitryon, and the other pitying his caſe, reſigned this iſle to him, of whom it taketh the denomination. Cephalonia lieth in the mouth of the gulf Lepanto, oppoſite to a part of *Ætolia* and *Acarmania* in the firm land: it is in circuit one hundred and fifty-fix, and in length forty-eight miles.

The land itſelf is full of mountains, yet exceeding fertile, yielding malvaſia, muſkadine, vino Leatico, raiſins, olives, figs, honey, ſweet water, pine, mulberry, date, and cypre trees, and all other ſorts of fruits in abundance. The commodity of which redounds yearly to the Venetians, for they are ſigniors thereof.

Leaving this weather-beaten carmoefalo laid up to a full ſea, I reſolved to travel through the iſland. In the
firſt

first days journey, I past by many fine villages and pleasant fields, especially the vale Aleffandro; where the Greeks told me their ancestors were vanquished in battle by the Macedonian conqueror. They also shewed me on the top of Mount Gargasso, the ruins of that temple, which had been of old dedicated to Jupiter. And, upon the second day, I hired two fishermen in a little boat, to carry me over to Zante, being twenty-five miles distant.

Here in Zante a Greekish surgeon undertook the curing of my arm, and performed the condition within time.

The isle of Zante was called *Zacanthus*, because so was called the son of Dardanus who reigned there; and by some *Hyria*. It hath a city of a great length, bordering along the sea-side, the chief seat of the isle, and named *Zante*, over the door of whose *prætorium*, or judgement hall, are inscribed these verses,

*Hic locus, odit, amat, punit, conservat, honorat,
Nequitiam, pacem, crimina, jura, probos.*

This place hates, loves, chastens, conserves, rewards,
Vice, peace, felony, laws, virtuous regards.

And on the top of a hill, above the town, standeth a large and strong fortress, (not unlike to the castle of Milan), wherein the providitor dwelleth, who governeth the island. This city is subject yearly to fearful earthquakes, especially in the months of October and November, which often times subvert their houses and themselves, bringing deadly destruction on all. This isle produceth good store of *rasina di Corintha*, commonly called currants, olives, pomegranates, citrons, oranges, lemons, grenadiers, and melons, and is in compass sixty-eight miles, being distant from the fore promontory of Morea sixteen miles.

The islanders are Greeks, a kind of subtle people, and great dissemblers; but the signiory thereof belong-
eth

eth to Venice. And if it were not for that great provision of corn which is daily transported from the firm land of Peloponnesus to them, the inhabitants in a short time would famish.

I was credibly informed here by the better sort, that this little isle maketh yearly (besides oil and wine) only of currants, one hundred and sixty thousand zechins, paying yearly over and above for custom, twenty-two thousand piasters, every zechin of gold being nine shillings English, and every piaster, being white money, six shillings: A rent or sum of money which these silly Islanders could never afford, (they being not above sixty years ago, but a base beggarly people, and an obscure place), if it were not for some liquorish lips here in England of late, who forsooth can hardly digest bread, pasties, broth, and (*verbi gratia*) bag-puddings, without these currants. And as these rascal Greeks becoming proud of late with this lavish expence, contemn justly this sensual prodigality, I have heard them often demand the English, in a filthy derision, what they did with such liquorish stuff, and if they carried them home to feed their swine and hogs withal. A question indeed worthy of such a female traffick; the inference of which I suspend: there is no other nation, save this, thus addicted to that miserable isle.

Bidding farewell to Zante, I embarked in a frigate, going to Peteraffo in Morea, which of old was called *Peloponnesus*; and by the way, in the gulf Lepanto (which divideth *Ætolia* and Morea. The chief city in *Ætolia* is called *Lepanto*; from whence, westward by the sea-side is Delphos, famous for the oracle of Apollo), we sailed by the isles Echinades, but by modern writers Curzolari, where the Christians obtained the victory against the Turks; for there did they fight after this manner.

In the year 1571, and the 6th of October, Don John of Austria, general Christian general for the Spanish gallies; Marco Antonio Colonna, for Pope Pio V.; and Sebastiano Venieco, for the Venetian army; convened al-

together in Largostolo at Cephalonia; having of all two hundred and eight gallies, six galleffes, and twenty-five frigates.

After a most resolute deliberation, these three generals went with a valiant courage to encounter with the Turkish armado, on the Sunday morning, the 7th of October; who, in the end, through the help of

Christ, obtained a glorious victory. In *The battle of Lepanto.* that fight there was taken and drowned one hundred and eighty of Turkish gal-

lies, and there escaped about the number of six hundred and fifty ships, galleys, galleots, and other vessels: There was fifteen thousand Turks killed, and four thousand taken prisoners, besides four thousand pieces of ordnance, and twelve thousand Christians delivered from their slavish bondage. In all, the Christians lost but eleven gallies, and five thousand slain. At their return to Largostolo, after this victorious battle, the three generals divided innumerable spoils, to their well-deserving captains, and worthy foldiers.

And notwithstanding Don John led that Armado, yet ambition led him, in the midst of that famous victory, to conceive a treacherous design to seize upon the castles of Corfu, under shew of the Venetian colours; which being discovered, and he disappointed, he died for displeasure in his return to Messina in Sicilia; where there his statue standeth to this day.

After my arrival in Peteraffo, the metropolitan of Peloponnesus, I left the turmoiling dangers of the intricate isles, of the Ionean and Adriatic seas, and resolved to travel in the firm land of Greece, with a caravan of Greeks that was bound for Athens.

Peteraffo is a large and spacious city, full of merchandise, and greatly beautified with all kind of merchants. Their chief commodities are raw silks, cloth of gold and silver, silken growgranes, rich damas, velvets of all kinds, with sattins and taffeties, and especially a girnel for grain: The Venetians, Ragusans, and Marseilians, have great handling with them. Here I remember

remember there was an English factor lying, whom the subbathaw, or governor of the town, a Turk, caused privately afterward, upon malice, to be poisoned, even when I was wintering at Constantinople; for whose death the worthy and generous ambassador, Sir Thomas Glover, my patron and protector, was so highly incensed, that he went thither himself to Peteraffo, with two Janisaries, and a warrant sent with him from the Emperor, who, in the midst of the market-place of Peteraffo, caused one of the two Janisaries to strike off the head from the shoulders of that sanzack; and put to death divers others also that had been accessary to the poisoning of the English consul; and the ambassador returning again to Constantinople, was held in singular reputation even with the Turks, for prosecuting so powerfully the course of justice, and would not shrink for no respect; I being domestic with him the self same time.

Peloponnesus, now called Morea, a peninsula, is all environed with the sea, *Morea in Greece.* save only at a narrow strait, where it is joined to the continent by an isthmus of five miles in breadth; which the Venetians, then lord of it, fortified with five castles, and a strong wall from creek to creek, which easily were subverted by the Turkish batteries, the defect only remaining in the defendant's weakness, and want of men. Corinth and its gulf lieth at the east end of this isthmus, and the gulf Lepanto on the west, dividing Ætolia and Epire. The wall which traversed this strait of Morea, was called *Pentamite*, five miles long: Truly it is one of the most famous *distroit du terre en Europe*. Morea itself is in length one hundred and sixty eight, and in compass five hundred and forty-six miles, and is at this day the most fertile, and best inhabited province, of all the empire of Greece. The chief rivers here are, Arbona and Ropheus: Argos here is watered with the river Planizza, near which standeth the town of Epidauræ, wherein the temple of Esculapius was so renowned for restoring of health to diseased persons. It

was anciently called *Agalia*, from Agalius the first king, *anno mundi* 1574, and also intitled, from two kings, *Sicionia* and *Apia*, then Peloponnesus from Pelops, and now Morea. It is divided in five territories, or petty provinces, Laconia, Arcadia, Argolis, Misenia, and Eliso, the proper territory of Corinth; of which city it was said,

Let men take heed of Lais, Corinth's whore,
Who earn'd ten thousand drachmas in an hour. *Hor.*

It is said by Æneas Silyus, in his *Cosmographical Treatise of Europe*, that divers kings went about to dig through this isthmus, to make it an island, namely, King Demetrius, Julius Cæsar, Caius Caligula, and Domitius Nero; of all whom he doth note, that they not only failed of their purpose, but that they came to violent and unnatural deaths.

But before the aforesaid Caravan at Peteraffo admitted me into his company, he was wonderful inquisitive to know for what cause I travelled alone, and of what nation I was. To whom I soberly excused, and discovered myself with modest answers, which pacified his curiosity, but not his avaricious mind; for, under a pretended protection he had of me, he extorted the most part of my money from my purse, without any regard of conscience.

In the first, second, and third days journeying, we had fair day, hard lodging, but good cheer, and kind entertainment for our money; which was the country Laconia: but on the fourth day, when we entered in the hilly and barren country of Arcadia, where, for a day's journey, we had no village, but saw abundance of cattle without keepers; and in that place it is thought the great battle of Pharsalia was fought, between Julius Cæsar and Pompey the Great.

Arcadia. Arcadia is bounded on the east with Eliso, on the west with Misenia, on the north with Achaia inferior, and on the south

south with a part of Laconia, and the sea : it was formerly termed *Pelasgia*, and lastly it took the name from Arcas, the son of Jupiter and Calisto ; the people whereof did long imagine, they were more ancient than the moon.

This foil of whom Arcas great patron was,
In age the moon excell'd, in wit the as.

But because it is a tradition of more antiquity than credit, I do rather note it than affirm it. And as men should dread the thunder-bolt, when they see the lightning ; so ignorance and idolatry placed among us, and round about us, may be a warning to the professors of the truth, to take heed to the venom, lest, by their Arcadian antiquity surpassing the moon, they become novices to some new intended massacre : for as powder failed them, but alas ! not poison ; so now with policy they prevail in all things : how long the Holy One of Israel knoweth, but certainly our sins are the causes of their domineering, and of our careless drooping.

In this desert way I beheld many singular monuments, and ruinous castles, whose names I knew not, because I had an ignorant guide : But this I remember, amongst these rocks my belly was pinched, and wearied was my body, with the climbing of steep mountains, which bred no small grief to my breast. Yet notwithstanding of my distress, the remembrance of these sweet-seasoned songs of Arcadian shepherds, which pregnant poets have so well penned, did recreate my wearied body with many sugared suppositions. These sterile bounds being past, we entered in the eastern plain of Morea, called anciently *Sparta*, where that sometime famous city of Lacedemon flourished, but now sacked, and the lumps of ruins and memory only remains. Marching thus, we left Modena and Napoli on our right hand, toward the sea-side, and on the sixth day at night, we pitched our tents in the uninhabited villages of Argo and Mycenæ, from the which unhappy Helen was ravished.

This cursed custom of base prostitution is become so frequent, that the greater sort of her mercenary sex, following her footsteps, have outgone her in their loathsome journeys of libidinous ways. She, being of such an infinite and voluptuous crew the arch-mistress and ringleader to destruction, did invite my muse to inveigh against the lascivious immodesty, as the inordinate pattern of all willing and licentious rapes.

The rape of Helen.

I would thy beauty (fairest of all dames)
 Had never caus'd the jealous Greeks to move ;
 Thy eyes from Greece to Ilion cast flames,
 And burnt that Trojan with adult'rate love.
 He, captive-like, thy mercy came to prove,
 And thou divorced, was ravish'd with a toy ;
 He swore fair Helen was his dearest dove,
 And thou a Paris swore for to enjoy.
 Mourn may the ghosts of sometime stately Troy,
 And curse that day thou saw the Phrygian coast :
 Thy lecherous lust did Priam's pride destroy,
 And many thousands for thy sake were lost.
 Was't nature, fortune, fancy, beauty, birth,
 That cross'd thee so, to be a cross on earth.
 Some of thy sex, baptis'd with thy curs'd name,
 Crown'd with thy fate, are part'ners in thy shame :
 Helens are snakes which breed their lovers pain,
 The maps of malice, murder, and disdain :
 Helens are gulphs, whence streams of blood do flow,
 Rapine, deceit, treason, and overthrow :
 Helens are whores, whiles in a virgin's mask,
 They suck from Pluto, stern Proserpine's task.
 Curs'd be thou hell, for hellish Helens fakes,
 Still cross'd and curs'd be they, that trust such snakes.

Here in Argos, I had the ground to be a pillow, and the world's wide fields to be a chamber, the whirling windy skies, to be a roof to my winter-blasted lodging, and the humid vapours of cold Nocturna, to accompany the unwished-for bed of my repose. What shall

I say then, the solid and sad man is not troubled with the floods and ebbs of fortune, the ill employed power of greatness, nor the fluctuating motions of the humourous multitude; or, at least, if he be sensible of his own, or their irregularities or confusions, yet his thoughts are not written in his face, his countenance is not significant, nor his miseries further seen than in his own private suffering; whereas the face and disposition of the feeble one, ever resembleth his last thoughts, and upon every touch, or taste of that which is displeasing, and follows not the streams of his appetite, his countenance deformeth itself, and, like the moon, is in as many changes as his fortune: but the noble resolution must follow Æneas's advice in all his adventures.

*Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,
Tendimus in Latium, &c.*

By divers ways, and dangers, great we mind
To visit Latium, and Latinus kind.

In all this country of Greece, I could find nothing to answer the famous relations given by ancient authors of the excellency of that land, but the name only; the barbarousness of Turks and time having defaced all the monuments of antiquity. No shew of honour, no habitation of men in an honest fashion, nor professors of the country in a principality; but rather prisoners shut up in prisons, or addicted slaves to cruel and tyrannical masters; so deformed is the state of that once worthy realm, and so miserable is the burden of that afflicted people; which, and the appearance of that permanency, grieved my heart to behold the sinister working of blind Fortune, which always plungeth the most renowned champions, and their memory, in the profoundest pit of all extremities and oblivion.

Let the ghosts of that Theban Epaminondas, that Mirmidonean Philip, and these Epirean worthies, Pyrrhus and Scanderberg, be witnesses hereto; but especially that Macedonian Alexander, whose fortunes

Greek champions.

ever followed him, rather than fled him, till his dissolution: wherein I may say, his greatness rose like to a mighty and huge oak, being clad with the spoils and trophies of enemies, fenced with an army of boughs, garnished with a coat of bark, as hard as steel; despising the force and power of the winds, as being only able to dally with the leaves, and not to weaken the root. But the northern wind, that strong champion of the airy region, secretly lurking in the vault of some hollow clouds, doth first murmur at this aspiring oak, and then striketh his crest with some greater strength; and lastly, with the deepest breath of his lungs, doth blow up the root: even so it was with Alexander, who from a stripling came to be a cedar, and from the sorrow of no more worlds, was soon cut off from the world he was in: For destiny is no man's drudge, and death is every man's conqueror, marching the sceptre with the spade, and the crowned prince with the oppressed peasant. And, in a word, there was never any to whom fortune did sooner approach, nor never any from whom she did so suddenly flee, than from Alexander, leaving a clear mirrour of the world's inconstancy.

Now, as concerning the government of Greece, termed by the Turks *Rum Ili*, that is, the *The Begler-* Roman country, it is ruled by a Begler-
beg of Greece. beg, or Bashaw. This word *Beglerbeg*, imports Lord of lords, in regard of the sanzacks or Subbashes under them, who also are termed *lords*; which is a barbarous pride in an ambitious style: This Beglerbeg of Greece retaineth his residence at Sophia, the metropolis of Bulgaria, formerly Dacia, and is the greatest commander of all other Bashaws in the Turkish provinces of Europe.

All other beglerbegs are changed every third year, or continued according to the imperial pleasure, neither may they return from their station during this time. But this bashaw of Greece keepeth his government for his lifetime, and remaineth most at court: He reserveth under his command, forty thousand Timariots,

mariots, or horsemen, led under the conduct of twenty-two sanzacks, or judges deputies of jurisdictions; to wit, two in Albania, at the towns Iscodera and Ancolina; two in Achaia, at Deluina and Albassan; three in Theffalia, at Priasim, Salonica, and Trichola; two in Sparta, at Misietra and Paleopatra; three in Macedonia, at Carmona, Selistria, and Giasstandila; one in Moldavia, at Acheranma; in Bulgaria, one at Sophia; in Thracia, one at Viazza; in Epyre, one at Ducagina; in Ætolia, one at Ioanina; in Peloponnesus, one at Peteraffo; the rest are, Usopia, Nycopolis, Corinth, and Bandera, towards the Black sea, and towards the northward of Danubio, at his kissing the Euxine waves. This much for the Beglerbeg-ship of Greece, and the provinces thereunto adjoining.

Departing from Argos, upon the seventh day we arrived at Athens. Athens is still inhabited, standing on the east part of Pe- *Athens.* loponnesus, near to the frontiers of Macedon, or Theffaly, by the sea-side. It was first called *Cecropia*, of one Cecrops, the first king thereof, who first founded it *anno mundi* 2409. It was after mightily enlarged by Theseus, and well provided with good laws by Solon, and lastly Athens of Minerva: in whose honour, for a long time, were celebrated solemn plays, called *Panathanaia*. Athens is now termed *Salenos*, and was once the shrill sounding trumpet of Mars, yielding more valiant captains and commanders, than any city in the world, Rome excepted. It was a custom here, that when any man was grown too wealthy or potent, he was banished thence for ten years. This exile was intitled *ostracism*, because his name who was abandoned, was written in an oyster-shell. Great combustions and mutinies have happened between Lacedemon and Athens; at last it was sacked by Lyfander, and her virgin-body prostituted to the lust of thirty insulting tyrants; not long after whose expulsion, it was utterly subdued by the Macedonians.

And, in a word, Athens being stained with intestine bloodsheds, and grievously discontented with the death
of

of her children ; her babes were brought forth for the sword to glut upon, the bowlies of her ancients were made as pavements to walk upon, her matrons became a prey and prize to every ravisher, and her priests and sacrificers were slain before the gates of their temples.

This city was the mother and well-spring to all liberal arts and sciences ; and the great cistern of Europe, whence flowed so many conduit-pipes of learning every where, but now altogether decayed. The circuit of old Athens hath been, according to the fundamental walls yet extant, about six Italian miles ; but now of no great quantity, nor many dwelling-houses therein, being within two hundred fire-houses, having a castle, which formerly was the temple of Minerva. They have abundance of all things requisite for the sustenance of human life, of which I had no small proof : For these Athenians or Greeks, exceeding kindly banquetted me four days, and furnished me with necessary provision for my voyage to Creta ; and also transported me by sea in a brigandino freely, and on their own charges to Serigo, being forty-four miles distant.

After my redounded thanks, they having returned the contemplation on their courtesies, brought me in remembrance, how curious the old Athenians were to hear of foreign news, and with what great regard and estimation they honoured travellers, of which, as yet, they are no wise defective.

Serigo is an island in the sea Cretico. It was anciently called *Cytherea*, of Cithero, the son of Phænise ; and of Aristotle *Porphyris*, or *Schotera*, in respect of the fine marble that is got there : It is fixty miles in circuit, having but one castle called *Capsallo*, which is kept by a Venetian captain. Here it is said, that Venus did first inhabit ; and I saw the ruins of her demolished temple, on the side of a mountain yet extant.

A little more downward, below this old adored temple of Venus, are the relicks of that place wherein Menelaus did dwell, who was king of Sparta, and Lord
of

of this isle. The Greeks of this island told me there were wild asses there, who had a stone in their heads, which was a sovereign remedy for the falling sickness, and good to make a woman be quickly delivered of her birth. I made afterwards deeper inquiry for it, to have either seen or bought it, but for my life I could never attain to any perfect knowledge thereof.

In the time of my abode at the village of Capsallo, (being a haven for small barks, and situate below the castle), the captain of that same fortress killed a seminary priest, whom he had *A priest slain*
found in the night with his whore in a *in a brothel.*
brothel-house; for the which sacrilegious murder, the governor of the isle deposed the captain, and banished him, causing a boat to be prepared to send him to Creta. O! if all the priests which do commit incest, adultery, and fornication, (yea, and worse; *Il peccato carnale contra natura*), were thus handled and severely rewarded, what a sea of Sodomitical irreligious blood would overflow the half of Europe, to stain the spotted colour of that Roman beast. Truly, and yet more, these lascivious friars are the very epicures or offscourings of the earth; for how oft have I heard them say, one to another? *Allegre, allegre, mio caro fratello, chi ben mangia, ben beve, &c.* That is, "Be chearful, be chearful, dear brother, he that eateth well drinketh well, he that drinketh well sleepeth well, he that sleepeth well sinneth not, and he that sinneth not, goeth straight through purgatory to paradise." This is all the care of their living, making their tongues to utter what their hearts thus profanely think, *Ede, bibe, dormi, post mortem nulla voluptas*; and it is well observed of this monachal and licentious life,

*Non male sunt Monachis grato indita nomina patrum,
Cum numerent natos hic et ubique suos.*

Unjustly, no! monks be call'd fathers, why?
Their bastards swarm as thick as stars in sky.

In

In the aforefaid boat I alfo embarked with the captain, and failed by the little Ifoletta of Serigota. Leaving Capo di Spado on our left hand, we arrived at Carabufa with extreme fortune, being fiercely purfued by three Turkish galleots. Between Serigo and Carabufa, we had one hundred and fifty-two miles of dangerous and tempeftuous fea.

PART

P A R T III.

*Now Creta comes, the Mediterranean queen,
 To my sought view, where golden Ida's seen,
 Cut with the lab'rinth of th' old Minotaur.
 Thence trac'd I all the Cyclads fifty-four :
 With Nigropont and Thessaly amain,
 Macedon, Parnassus, the Achaian plain ;
 Tenedos and Troy, long Phrygia fix'd,
 Sestos, Abidos, Adrianople vex'd ;
 Colchis, fall'n Thebes, Hellespont, and more,
 Constantinople, earth's best sovereign glore,
 The Euxine sea, and Pompey's pillar prest ;
 In Peru then I'll take my winter's rest.*

THE isle of Candy, formerly called *Creta*, hath
 to the north, the *Ægean* sea ; to the west, the
Ionian sea ; to the south, the *Libique* sea ; and to the
 east, the *Carpathian* sea. It lieth mid-way betwixt *A-*
chaia in Greece, and *Cyrene* in Afric, not being di-
 stant from the one, nor from the other, above two
 days failing. It is a most famous and ancient king-
 dom. By modern writers it is called *Queen of the Medi-*
terranean isles. It had of old an hundred cities, where-
 of it had the name *Hecatompolis*, but
 now only four, *Candia*, *Canea*, *Rethi-* *The antiquity*
mos, and *Scythia* ; the rest are but vil- *of Candy*.
 lages and bourges. It is of length, to
 wit, from *Capo Ermico* in the west, called by *Pliny*
Frons arietis, and *Capo Salamone* in the east, two hun-
 dred and forty miles, sixty broad, and of circuit six hun-
 dred and fifty miles.

This is the chief dominion belonging to the Venetian
 republic. In every one of these four cities there is a
 governor, and two counsellors, sent from Venice e-
 very

very two years. The country is divided into four parts, under the jurisdiction of the four cities, for the better administration of justice. And they have a general, who commonly remaineth in the city of Candy, (like to a viceroy), who deposeth or imposeth magistrates, captains, soldiers, officers, and others whatsoever, in the behalf of St Mark, or Duke of Venice. The Venetians detain continually a strong guard, divided in companies, squadrons, and garrisons, in the cities and fortresses of the island; which do extend to the number of twelve thousand soldiers, kept, not only for the incursion of Turks, but also for fear of the Cretes, or inhabitants, who would rather (if they could) surrender to the Turks, than live under the subjection of Venice, thinking thereby to have more liberty, and less taxed under the Infidel, than now they are under the Christian.

This isle produceth the best Malvasie, Muscadine, and Leatic wines, that are in the whole universe. It yieldeth oranges, lemons, melons, citrons, grenadiers, Adam's apples, raisins, olives, dates, honey, sugar, *Vua di tre volte*, and all other kinds of fruit in abundance. But the most part of the corns

The rivers of Candy. are brought yearly from Archipelago and Greece. The chief rivers are Cata-

racho, Melipotomos, Escasino; being all of them shallow and discommodious for shipping, in respect of their short courses, and rocky passages; and the principal cities of old were Gnassus, where Minos kept his court, 2. Cortina, 3. Aphra and Cydonia. This country was by Marcellus made subject to the Romans. It was afterward given by Baldwin Earl of Flanders, the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, to Boniface of Montferrat, who sold it *anno 1194* to the Venetians.

Thus much of the isle in general; and now in respect of my travelling two times through the bounds of the whole kingdom, which was never before atchieved by any traveller in Christendom; I will, as briefly as I can, in particular, relate a few of those miseries endured by

by me in this land, with the nature and quality of the people.

This aforefaid Carabufa is the principal fortrefs of Creta, being of itfelf invincible, and is not unlike to the castle of Dunbarton, which standeth at the mouth of Clyde; upon which river the ancient town of Lanerk is fituated. For this fort is environed with a rock higher than the walls, and joineth close with Capo Ermico. Having learned of the thievish way I had to Canea, I advifed to put my money in exchange; which the captain of that ftrengh very courteoufly performed; and would alfo have difsuaded me from my purpofe, but I by no perfuafion of him would ftay. From thence departing all alone, fcarcely was I advanced twelve miles in my way, when I was befet on the fkiirt of a rocky mountain, with three Greek murdering renegadoes, and an Italian bandido; who laying hands on me, beat me moft cruelly, robbed me of my cloaths, and ftripped me naked, threatening me with many grievous fpeeches.

The old and famous town of Lanerk.

At laft the refpective Italian, perceiving I was a ft ranger, and could not fpeak the Cretan tongue, began to afk me, in his own language, where was my money? To whom I foberly answered, I had no more than he faw, which was eighty bagantines; which fcarcely amounted to two groats Englifh. But he not giving credit to thefe words, fearchd all my cloaths and budgeto, yet found nothing except my linen, and letters of recommendation I had from divers princes of Chriftendom, efpecially the Duke of Venice, whole fubjects they were, if they had been lawful fubjects. Which, when he faw, did move him to compaffion, and earneftly intreated the other three thieves to grant me mercy, and to fave my life. A long deliberation being ended, they reftored back again my pilgrim's cloaths, and letters, but my blue gown and bagantines they kept. Such alfo was their thievifh courtefy toward me, that, for my better fafeguard in the way, they gave

A happy deliverance.

gave me a stamped piece of clay, as a token to show any of their companions, if I encountered with any of them; for they were about twenty rascals of a confederate band that lay in this desert passage.

Leaving them with many counterfeit thanks, I travelled that day seven and thirty miles, and at night attained to the unhappy village of Pickehorno, where I could have neither meat, drink, lodging, nor any refreshment to my wearied body. These desperate Can-

Cruel Can-
diots.

diots thronged about me, gazing (as though astonished) to see me both want company, and their language, and by their cruel looks they seemed to be a barbarous and uncivil people; for all these highlanders of Candy are tyrannical, blood-thirsty, and deceitful. The consideration of which, and the appearance of my death, signified to me secretly by a pitiful woman, made me to shun their villany, in stealing forth from them in the dark night, and privately sought for a secure place of repose in an umbrageous cave by the sea-side, where I lay till morning, with a fearful heart, a crazed body, a thirsty stomach, and a hungry belly.

Upon the appearing of the next Aurora, and when the welkin had put aside the vizard of the night, the stars being covered, and the earth discovered by the sun, I embraced my unknown way, and about mid-

Invincible
Canea.

day came to Canea. Canea is the second city of Crete, called anciently *Cydon*, being exceeding populous, well walled, and fortified with bulwarks. It hath a large castle, containing ninety-seven palaces, in which the rector and other Venetian gentlemen dwell. There lie continually in it seven companies of soldiers, who keep centinel on the walls, guard the gates and market-places of the city. Neither in this town nor Candia may any country peasant enter with weapons, (especially harquebusses), for that conceived fear they have of treason. Truly this city may equal in strength either Zara in Dalmatia, or Luka, or Leghorn, both in Tuscany, or matchless Palma in Friuli; for these
five

five cities are so strong, that in all my travels I never saw them matched. They are all well provided with abundance of artillery, and all things necessary for their defence; especially Luka, which continually reserves in store provision of victuals for twelve years siege.

In my first abode in Canea, being a fortnight, there came six galleys from Venice; upon one of which there was a young French gentleman, a Protestant, born near Montpellier in Languedock; who being by chance in company with other four of his countrymen in Venice, one of them killed a young noble Venetian, about the quarrel of a courtesan. Whereupon they flying to the French ambassador's house, the rest escaped, and he only apprehended by a fall in his flight, was afterward condemned by the senators to the galleys during life. Now, the galleys lying here six days, he got leave of the captain to come ashore with a keeper, when he would, carrying an iron bolt on his leg. In which time we falling in acquaintance, he complained heavily of his hard fortune, and how, because he was a Protestant, (besides his slavery), he was severely abused in the galley, sighing forth these words with tears, "Lord have mercy upon me, and grant me pa-

tience; for neither friends nor money *A religious*
can redeem me." At which expression *comfort.*

I was both glad and sorrowful, the one moving my soul to exult in joy for his religion, the other, for his misfortunes, working a Christian compassion for intolerable affliction. For I was in Venice at the same time when this accident fell out, yet would not tell him so much; but pondering seriously his lamentable distress, I secretly advised him the manner how he might escape, and how far I would hazard the liberty of my life for his deliverance, desiring him to come ashore early the next morning. Meanwhile I went to an old Greekish woman, with whom I was friendly inward, for she was my landress; and reciting to her the whole business, she willingly condescended to lend me an old gown, and a black veil for his disguise.

The time come, and we met, the matter was difficult to shake off the keeper ; but such was my plot, I did invite him to the wine, where, after tractal discourses, and deep draughts of Leatic, reason failing, sleep overcame his senses. Whereupon, conducting my friend to the appointed place, I disburdened him of his irons, cloathed him in a female habit, and sent him out before me, conducted by the Greekish woman ; and when securely past both guards and gate, I followed, carrying with me his cloaths, where, when accosting him by a field of olives, and the other returned back, we speedily crossed the vale of Suda, and interchanging his apparel, I directed him the way, over the moun-

*A place of
refuge.*

tains, to a Greekish convent, on the south side of the land, a place of safeguard, commonly called *the monastery of refuge* ; where he would kindly be entertained, till either the galleys, or men of war of Malta, arrived ; it being a custom, at their going or coming from the Levant, to touch here, to relieve and carry away distressed men. This is a place whereunto banditti, men-slayers, and robbers, repair for relief.

After receiving many joyful thanks from him, I returned, keeping the highway, where immediately I encountered two English soldiers, John Smith and Thomas Hargrave, coming of purpose to inform me of my imminent danger, shewing me, that all the officers of the galleys, with a number of soldiers, were in searching the city, and hunting all over the fields for me. After which relation, consulting with them what way I could come to the Italian monastery, St Salvator, for there I lay, (the town affording neither lodging nor beds), they answered me, they would venture their lives for my liberty, and I should enter at the eastern (the least frequented) gate of the city, where three other Englishmen were that day on guard ; for so there were five of them here in garrison : where, when we came, the other English, accompanied with eight French soldiers, their familiars, came along with us also. And
having

having passed the market-place, and near my lodging, four officers, and six galley-soldiers, run to lay hands on me; whereat the English and French unsheathing their swords, valiantly resisted their fury, and deadly wounded two of the officers; meanwhile fresh supply coming from the galleys, John Smith run along with me to the monastery, leaving the rest at pell-mell, to intercept their following. At last the captains of the garrison approaching the tumult, relieved their own soldiers, and drove back the other to the galleys. A little thereafter the general of the galleys came to the monastery, and examined me concerning the fugitive; but I clearing myself so, and quenching the least suspicion he might conceive, (notwithstanding of my accusers), he could lay nothing to my charge. Howsoever it was, he seemed somewhat favourable, partly because I had the Duke of Venice his passport, partly because of my intended voyage to Jerusalem, partly because he was a great favourer of the French nation, and partly because he could not mend himself, in regard of my shelter, and the governor's favour; yet, nevertheless, I detained myself under the safeguard of the cloyster, until the galleys were gone.

*Cloysters are
safeguards.*

Being here disappointed of transportation to Archipelago, I resolved to visit Candy; and in my way I passed by the large haven of Suda, which hath no town or village, save only a castle, situated on a rock in the sea, at the entry of the bay. The bounds of that harbour may receive at one time above two thousand ships and galleys, and is the only key of the island; for the which place the King of Spain hath oft offered an infinite deal of money to the Venetians, whereby his navy, which sometimes resort in the Levant, might have access and relief; but they would never grant him his request: which policy of his was only to have surprized the kingdom.

South-west from this famous harbour, lieth a pleasant plain, named *the valley of Suda*. It is twenty Italian miles long,

*The pleasant
valley of Suda*

and two of breadth ; and I remember, as I descended to cross the valley, and pass the haven, I thought the whole plain resembled to me a green sea ; and that was only by reason of infinite olive-trees growing there, whose boughs and leaves overtop all other fructiferous trees in that plain. The villages, for loss of ground, are all built on the skirts of rocks upon the south side of the valley ; yea, and so difficult to climb them, and so dangerous to dwell in them, that I thought their lives were in like peril, as he who was adjoined to sit under the point of a two-handed sword, and it hanging by the hair of a horse's tail.

I told along these rocks, at one time, and within my sight, sixty-seven villages ; but when I entered the valley, I could not find a foot of ground unmanured, save a narrow passing way wherein I was. The olives, pomegranates, dates, figs, oranges, lemons, and pomi del Adamo, growing all promiscuously. And at the roots of which trees grew wheat, malvasie, muscadine, Leatic wines, grenadiers, carnobiers, melons, and all other sorts of fruits, herbs, the earth can yield to man, that for beauty, pleasure, and profit, it may be called the garden of the whole universe, being the goodliest plot, the diamond spark, and the honey spot, of all Candy. There is no land more temperate for air, for it hath a double spring-tide ; no soil more fertile, and therefore it is called *the combat of Bacchus and Ceres* ; no region or valley more hospitable, in regard of the sea, having such a noble haven cut through its bosom, being, as it were, the very resting place of Neptune.

Upon the third days journey from Canea, I came to Rethimos. This city is somewhat ruinous, and unwallled, but the citizens have newly builded a strong fortress ; but rather done by the State of Venice, which defendeth them from the invasion of pirates. It standeth by the sea side ; and in the year 1597, it was miserably sacked and burned with Turks.

Mount Ida. Continuing my voyage, I passed along the skirt of Mount Ida, accompanied with

with Greeks, who could speak the Italian tongue; on which, first, they shewed me the cave of King Minos, but some hold it to be the sepulchre of Jupiter. That grotto was of length eighty paces, and eight broad. This Minos was said to be the brother of Radamanthus and Sarpedon; who, after their succession to the kingdom, established such equitable laws, that, by poets, they are feigned, with Æacus, to be the judges of hell. I saw also there, the place where Jupiter (as they say) was nourished by Amalthea, which by Greeks is recited, as well as Latin poets.

Thirdly, they shewed me the temple of Saturn, which is a work to be admired, of such antiquity, and as yet undecayed; who (say they) was the first king that inhabited there, and father to Jupiter. And near to it is the demolished temple of Matelia, having this superscription above the door, yet to be seen: "Make clean your feet, wash your hands, and enter." Fourthly, I saw the entry into the labyrinth of Dedalus, which I would gladly have better viewed; but because we had no candle light, we durst not enter; for there are many hollow places within it; so that if a man stumble or fall, he can hardly be rescued: it is cut out with many intricating ways, on the face of a little hill, joining with Mount Ida, having many doors and pillars. Here it was where Theseus, by the help of Ariadne, the daughter of King Minos, taking a bottom of thread, and tying the one end at the first door, did enter and slay the Minotaurus, who was included there by Dedalus. This Minotaur is said to have been begot by the lewd and luxurious Pasiphae, who doted on a white bull.

Mount Ida is the highest mountain in Creta; and, by the computation of shepherds feet, amounteth to six miles of height: It is overlade even to the top with cypress trees, and good store of medicinable herbs; in-somuch, that the beasts which feed thereupon, have their teeth gilded like to the colour of gold. Mount Ida, of old, was called *Phelorita*, by some *Cadussa*, but

modernly *Madura*. It is said by some historians, that no venomous animal can live in this isle; but I saw the contrary; for I killed on a Sunday morning, hard by the sea-side, and within two miles of Rethimos, two serpents and a viper; one of which serpents was above a yard and half in length; for they being all three rolling within the coverture of the dry sands, my right leg was almost in their reverence, before I remarked the danger: Wherefore many build upon false reports, but experience teacheth men the truth.

Some report, that if a woman here bite a man any thing hard, he will never recover; and that there is an herb, called *Allimos*, in this island, which if one chew in his mouth, he shall not feel hunger for four and twenty hours; all which are mere fables; such is the darkness of cloudy inventions.

Descending from this mountain, I entered into a fair plain, beautified with many villages; in one of which, I found a Grecian bishop, who kindly presented me with grapes of malvasie, and other things, for it was in the time of their vintage. To carry these things he had given me, he caused to make ready an ass, and a servant, who went with me to Candy, which was more than fifteen miles from his house. True it is, that the best sort of Greeks, in visiting other, do not use to come empty handed, neither will they suffer a stranger to depart without both gifts and convoy.

I remember along this saffinous and marine passage, I found three fountains gushing forth of a rock, each one within a yard of other, having three fundry tastes: the first water was exceeding light and sweet; the middle, or second, marvellous sour and heavy; the third was bitter, and extraordinary salt; so that in so short bounds, so great difference I never found before nor afterward.

Candy is distant from Canea a hundred miles, Rethimos being half way betwixt both; so is Candy half way, in the same measure, betwixt Rethimos and Scythia;

thia; and Canea the like betwixt Rethimos and Carabusa, being in all two hundred miles.

Candy is a large and famous city, formerly called *Matium*, situated on a plain by the sea-side, having a goodly haven for ships, and a fair arsenal wherein are thirty-six galleys: It is exceeding strong, and daily guarded with two thousand soldiers, and the walls in compass are about three leagues. *The city of Candy.*

In this time there was no viceroy, the former being newly dead, and the place vacant, the soldiers kept a bloody quarter among themselves, or against any whomsoever their malignity was intended; for in all the time I staid there, being ten days, it was nothing to see every day four or five men killed in the streets: neither could the rector nor the captains help it, so tumultuous were the disordered soldiers, and the occasions of revenge and quarrellings so frequent. This commonly they practised in every such vacation, which, otherwise, they durst never attempt without death, and severe punishment; and truly I thought it was as barbarous a governed place, for the time, as ever I saw in the world; for hardly could I save my own life free from their dangers, in the which I was twice miserably involved.

Candy is distant from Venice thirteen hundred miles, from Constantinople seven hundred, from Famagusta in Cyprus six hundred, from Alexandria in Egypt five hundred, from Tripoli in Syria seven hundred, from Naples nine hundred, from Malta five hundred, from Smyrna in Carmania of Natolia four hundred, and from the city of Jerusalem nine hundred miles. The Candiots, through all the island, make muster every eighth day, before the serjeant-majors, or officers of the general, and are well provided with all sorts of armour; yea, and the most valorous people that have the name of Greeks. It was told me by the rector of Candy, that they may raise in arms of the inhabitants, (not reckoning the garrisons),

above sixty thousand men all able for wars, with fifty-four galleys, and twenty-four galleots for the sea.

In all my travels through this realm, I never could see a Greek come forth of his house unarmed; and after such a martial manner, that on his head he wear-eth a bare steel-cap, a bow in his hand, a long sword by his side, a broad poniard athwart his belly, and a round target hanging at his girdle. They are not costly in apparel, for they wear but linen cloaths, and use no shoes, but boots of white leather, to keep their legs, in the fields, from the pricks of a kind of thistle, wherewith the country is overcharged, like unto little bushes, or short shrubs, which are marvellous sharp and offensive unto the inhabitants, whereof, often in a day, to my great harm, I found their bloody smart: The women generally wear linen breeches, as men do, and boots after the same manner, and their linen coats no longer than the middle of their thighs, and are in-

Cretes turn critics. satiable inclined to venery; such is the nature of the soil and climate. The ancient Cretans were such notable liars, that the Heathen poet Epimenides, yea, and the apostle Paul, in his epistle to Titus, did term them to have been "ever liars, evil beasts, and slow bellies;" whence sprung these proverbs; as, *Cretense mendacium*; and, *Cretisandum est cum Cretensibus*.

The Candiots are excellent good archers, surpassing all the oriental people therein, courageous and valiant upon the sea, as in former times they were; and they are naturally inclined to singing; so that commonly after meat, man, wife, and child, of each family, will, for the space of an hour, sing with such an harmony, as is wonderful melodious to the hearer; yea, and they cannot forgo the custom of it.

Their harvest is our spring; for they manure the ground and sow the seed in October, which is reaped in March and April. Being frustrate of my intention at Candy, I was forced to return to Canea the same way I went; when come, I was exceeding merry with my

my old friends the Englishmen : Mean while there arrived from Tunis, in Barbary, an English runagate, named *Wol-son*, bound for Rhodes ; where, after short acquaintance with his natives, and understanding what I was, he imparted these words ; “ I have had my elder brother, said he the master (or captain) of a ship, slain at Burntisland in Scotland, by one called *Keere* ; and notwithstanding he was beheaded, I have long since sworn to be revenged of my brother’s death, on the first Scotishman I ever saw or met ; and my design is to stab him with a knife this night, as he goeth late home to his lodging, desiring their assistance : but Smith, Hargrave, and Horsperld refused, yet Cook and Rollands yielded. Meanwhile, Smith knowing where I used sometimes to diet, found me at supper in a sutler’s, a soldier’s house, where, acquainting me of this plot, the host, he, and three Italian soldiers, conveyed me to my bed, passing by the arch villain and his confederates, where he was prepared for the mischief, which, when he saw his treachery was discovered, he fled away, and was seen no more here.

*An English
runagate.*

Remarking the fidelity and kindness that Smith had twice shewed me, first in freeing me from the danger of galley-slavery, and now in saving my life, I resolved to do him a good deed in some part of acquittance ; and thus it was : At his first coming to Venice, he was taken up as a soldier for Candy ; where, when transported, within a small time he found the captain’s promise and performance different, which forced him at the beginning to borrow a little money of his lieutenant : the five years of their abode expired, and fresh companies came from Venice to exhibit the charge, Smith, not being able to discharge his debt, was turned over to the new captain for five years more, who paid the old captain his money ; and his time also worn out, the third captain came, where likewise he was put in his hands, serving him five years longer.

*Smith relieved
from a
long bondage.*

Thus

Thus having served three captains fifteen years, and never likely able (for a small trifle) to attain his liberty, I went to the captain and paid his debt, obtaining also of the rector his licence to depart; and the allowance of the state for his passage, which was wine and biscuit-bread: Thereafter I embarked him for Venice in a Flemish ship, the master being a Scotchman, John Allan, born in Glasgow, and dwelt at Middleborough in Zeland. His debt was only forty-eight shillings Sterling.

Here I staid in Canea twenty-five days before I could get passage for the Arch-islands, being purposed for Constantinople; but gladly would not have left the monastery of these four friars, with whom I was lodged, if it had not been for my designs; in regard of their great cheer, and deep draughts of Malvasie I received hourly, and oftentimes against my will. Every night after supper, the friars forced me to dance with them, either one gagliard or other. Their music in the end was found drunkenness, and their syncopa turned

*Drunken
friars.*

to spew up all, and their bed converted to a board, or else the hard floor; for these beastly swine, were nightly so full, that they had never power to go to their own chambers, but where they fell, there they lay till the morn. The cloyster itself had two fair courts, the least of which might have lodged any king of Europe. The church was little, and, among the four friars, there was but one mass-priest, being a Greek, born and turned to the Roman faction; his new name was Pattarras Matecarras, Pater Libenter, or father of free will, indeed a right name for so sottish a fellow, for he was so free of his stomach, to receive in strong liquor, that for the space of twenty days of my being there, I never saw him, nor any one of the other three, truly sober. Many odd merriments and jests have I observed of these friars of Candy, but time will not suffer me to relate them; only remitting the rest of my private discourse, a fig for their folly.

I travelled on foot in this isle more than four hundred

dred miles, and upon the fifty-eighth day after my first coming to Carabusa, I embarked in a fisher-boat that belonged to Milo, being a hundred miles distant, which had been violently driven thither with stormy weather.

And in our passing thither, we were in danger to be over-run, two several times, with two huge broken seas, which twice covered the body of the close boat; yet with extreme fortune we arrived at Milo, in a bay of the east corner of the isle, being about St Andrew's day where the poor Greeks took me up to their village, two miles distant from this creek, and I abode with them four days.

Milo was called by Aristotle *Melada*, and by others *Mimalida*, *Melos*; and lastly, *Milo*, because of the fine mill-stones that are got there, which are transported to Constantinople, Greece, and Natolia. This isle is one of the isles Cyclades or Sporades, but more commonly Archipelago, or the Arch-islands, and standeth in the mouth of the *Ægean* sea: The inhabitants are Greeks, but slaves to the Turk, and so are all the fifty-four isles of the Cyclades, save only Tino, which holdeth of the Venetians.

From Milo I came to Zephano in a small boat, an island in circuit about twenty miles, and ten miles distant from Milo. The inhabitants are poor, yet kind people. There are an infinite number of partridges within this isle, of a reddish colour, and bigger than ours in Britain. They are wild, and only killed by small shot; but I have seen, in other islands, flocks of them feeding in the fields, and usually kept by children. Some others I have seen in the streets of villages, without any keeper, even as our hens do with us. I saw fountains here that naturally yield fine oil, which is the greatest advantage the islanders have.

Zephano did once produce the calamita, and was renowned for the fine mines of gold and silver, of which now it is altogether desolate. There is also fine sulphur here,

Zephano.

and

and exceeding good marble; from whence Lucullus was the first that transported it to Rome. There is a certain ground in this isle, where, it is said, that if any take it away, or dig deep holes, the earth of itself, in a small time, will surcrease without any aid of man. East from Milo and Zephano lie the isles Policando, and Christiana, formerly Laguso, Sicandro; and Saturnino, anciently Calistha, famous for the birth of the poet Callimachus.

From thence I embarked, and arrived at Angusa in Parir. This isle is forty miles long, and six miles broad, being plentiful enough in all necessary things for the use of man. It was anciently called Demetriado, whose length lieth south-west and north east: And hard by the high mountain of Camphasia, near to Angusa, on a fair valley, standeth the ancient temple of Venus, never a whit decayed to this day. This isle was given to the Venetians by Henry the Constantinopolitan Emperor, and brother to Baldwin Earl of Flanders, and it was seized upon by Mahomet, when Nigropont, and divers other isles, were surprized from the Venetians.

In Angusa, I staid sixteen days storm-sted with northerly winds; and in all that time I never went to bed: for my lodging was in a little chapel, a mile without the village, on hard stones; where I also had a fire, and dressed my meat. The Greeks visited me oftentimes, and intreated me above all things, I should not enter within the bounds of their sanctuary; because I was not of their religion. But I, in regard of the longsome and cold nights, was forced every night to creep in, in the midst of the sanctuary, to keep myself warm, which sanctuary was nothing but an altar hemmed in with a partition-wall, about my height, dividing the little room from the body of the chapel.

These miserable islanders, are a kind of silly poor people, which, in their behaviour, shewed me the necessity they had to live, rather than any pleasure in their living. From thence I embarked in a small bark of ten tuns, come from Scythia in Candy, and loaden with

with oil ; and about mid day we arrived in the isle of Mecanto, where we but only dined, and so set forward to Zea.

This Mecanto was formerly called Delos, famous for the temple of Apollo, being the chief isle of the Cyclades, the rest of the fifty-four encircling it. Delos signifieth apparent, because, at the request of Juno, when all the earth had abjured the receipt of Latona, this island, then under the water, was by Jupiter erected aloft, and fixed to receive her ; wherein she was delivered of Apollo and Diana.

Latona received in Delos.

— *erratica Delos, &c.* Ovid.

Unsettled Delos, floating on the main,
Did wand'ring Laton kindly entertain ;
In spite of Juno, fatned with Jove's balm ;
Was brought to bed, under Minerva's palm.

In this isle they retain a custom, neither permitting men to die, or children to be born in it ; but always when men fall sick, and women grow great bellied, they send them to Rhena, a small isoletta, and two miles distant.

Zea, to which we arrived from Mecano, was so called of Zelo, the son of Phebo, and of some *Tetrapoli*, because of the four cities that were there of old. Simonides the poet, and Erasistrato the excellent physician, were born in it. The next isle of any note we touched at was Tino. This island is under the signiory of Venice, and was some time beautified with the temple of Neptune. By Aristotle it was called *Idrusa*, of Demosthenes and Eschines *Erusea*. It hath an impregnable castle, built on the top of a high rock, towards the east end or promontory of the isle, and ever provided with three years provision, and a garrison of two hundred soldiers ; so that the Turks by no means can conquer it. The island itself is twenty miles in length,

length, and a great refuge for all Christian ships and galleys that haunt in the Levant.

From this isle I came to Palmosa, formerly Patmos, which is a mountainous and barren island. It was here

The isle of Patmos. that St John wrote the Revelation, after he was banished by Domitianus the Emperor. Thence I embarked to Nicaria, and sailed by the isle Scyro, which

of old was the signiory of Licomedes; and in the habit of a woman was Achilles brought up here, because his mother being by an oracle premonished, that he should be killed in the Trojan war, sent him to this island; where he was, maiden-like, brought up among the King's daughters, who, in that time, begot Pyrrhus upon Deidamia, the daughter of Licomedes; and where the crafty Ulysses afterward did discover this fatal prince to Troy. As we came in sight of Nicaria, we espied two Turkish galleots, who gave us the chace, and pursued us straight to a bay, betwixt two mountains, where we left the loaden boat, and fled to the rocks, from whence we mightily annoyed, with huge tumbling stones, the pursuing Turks. But in our flying the master was taken, and other two old men, whom they made captives and slaves; and also seized upon the boat, and all their goods. The number of us that escaped were nine persons.

This isle Nicaria was anciently called *Doliche* and *Ithiosa*, and is somewhat barren, having no sea-port at all. It was here, the poets feigned, that Icarus the son of Dedalus fell, when, as he took flight from Creta with his borrowed wings, of whom it hath the name; and not following directly his father Dedalus, he was here drowned.

Dum petit infirmis nimium sublimia pennis

Icarus, Icaris nomina fecit aquis. Ovid de Trist.

Whiles Icarus weak wings too high did flee,
He fell, and baptiz'd the Icarean sea;

So

So many more, experience may account,
That both above their minds and means would
mount.

Waiting some days here, in a village called *Laphantos*, for passage to Sio, at last I found a brigandino bound thither, that was come from the fruitful isle of Stalimene, of old Lemnos. This isle of Stalimene is in circuit ninety miles, where, in Hephestria its metropolis, Vulcan was mightily adored; who, being but a homely brat, was cast down hither by Juno, whereby it was no marvel if he became crooked, and went a-halting. The sovereign mineral against infections, called *Terra Lemnia*, or *Sigillata*, is digged here. The former name proceedeth from the island; the latter is in force, because the earth being made up in little pellets, is sealed with a Turkish signet, and so sold and dispersed over Christendom. Having embarked in the aforesaid brigandino, we sailed by the isle Samos, which is opposite to Caria, in Asia Minor, where the tyrant Polycrates lived so fortunate, as he had never any mischance all this time, till at last Orientes, a Persian, brought him to a miserable death; leaving us an example, that fortune is certain in nothing but uncertainties, who, like a bee with a sharp sting, hath always some misery following a long series of felicities. It is of circuit one hundred and sixty, and of length forty miles. It was of old named *Driusa*, and *Melanphilo*, in which Pythagoras the philosopher, and Lycaon the excellent musician, were born.

Upon our left hand, and opposite to Samos, lieth the isle of Nixia, formerly *Nixia*. Maxos, in circuit sixty-eight miles. It was also called the *isle of Venus and Dionisia*, and was taken from the Venetians by Selim, the father of Soliman. East from Nixia lieth the isle Amurgospolo, in circuit twenty leagues. It hath three commodious ports, named *St Anna*, *Calores*, and *Cataplino*. A little from hence, and in sight of Natolia, lieth the isle Calamo,

lamo, formerly Claros, in circuit thirty miles; and eastward thence the little isle of Lerno, five leagues in circuit; all inhabited with Greeks, and they the silly ignorants of nature. South-east from

The isle of Lango. this lieth the isle of Coos, now Lango, by the Turks called *Stanccow*. The capital town is Arango, where Hypocrates

and Apelles the painter were born. In this isle there is a wine named by the Greeks *Hyppocon*, that excelleth in sweetness all other wines, except the Malvasie; and it aboundeth in cypress and turpentine trees. There is here a part of the isle disinhabited, in regard of a contagious lake that infecteth the air, both summer and winter. There is abundance of aloes found here, so much esteemed by our apothecaries. The rest of this isle shall be touched in its proper place. And near to Lango lieth the isle Giara, now Stopodia. It is surrounded with rocks and deserts, unto which the Romans were wont to send in banishment such as deserved death. In general of these isles Cyclades, because they are so near one to another, and each one in sight of another, there are many corsairs and Turkish galleots that still afflict these islanders; insomuch that the inhabitants are constrained to keep watch day and night, upon the tops of the most commodious mountains, to discover

The danger of Turkish these pirates; which they easily discern from other vessels, both because of their sails and oars; and whensoever discovered, according to the number of cur-

fory boats, they make as many fires, which giveth warning to all the ports to be on guard. And if the sea-voyagers, in passing, see no sign on these isles of fire or smoke, then they perfectly know these dangerous seas are free from pernicious robbers.

As we left the isle Venico on our left hand, and entered in the gulf between Sio and Æolida, the firm land is called *Æolida*, there fell down a deadly storm, at the Greco e Levant, or at the north-east, which split our mast, carrying sails and all overboard. Whereupon every man looked (as it were) with the stamp of death in

in his pale visage. The tempest continuing, (our boat not being able to keep the seas), we were constrained to seek into a creek, betwixt two rocks, for safety of our lives; where, when we entered, there was no likelihood of relief; for we had a shelvy shore; and giving ground to the anchors, they came both home.

The sorrowful master, seeing nothing but shipwreck, took the helm in hand, directing his course to rush upon the face of a low rock: whereupon the sea most fearfully broke. As *A fearful shipwreck.* we touched, the mariners contending who should first leap out, some fell overboard, and those that got land were pulled back by the recoiling waves. Neither in all this time durst I once move; for they had formerly sworn, if I pressed to escape before the rest were first forth, they would throw me headlong into the sea. So being two ways in danger of death, I patiently offered up my prayers to God.

At our first encounter with the rocks, (our fore-decks and boat's gallery being broke, and a great leak made), the recoiling waves brought us back from the shelves a great way; which the poor master perceiving, and that there were seven men drowned, and eleven persons alive, cried out with a loud voice, "Be of good courage, take up oars, and row hastily; it may be, before the bark sink, we shall attain to yonder cave," which then appeared to our sight. Every man working for his own deliverance, (as it pleased God), we got the same with good fortune; for no sooner were we disembarked, and I also left the last man, but the boat immediately sunk. There was nothing saved but my coffino, which I kept always in my arms, partly that it might have brought my dead body to some creek, where being found, might have been by the Greeks buried, and partly I held it fast also, that saving my life, I might save it too. It was made of reeds, and would not easily sink, notwithstanding of my papers and linen I carried in it; for the which safety of my things, the Greeks were in admira-

A happy deliverance from shipwreck.

tion.

tion. In this cave, which was thirty paces long within the mountain, we abode three days without either meat or drink. Upon the fourth day, at morn, the tempest ceasing, there came fisher-boats to relieve us, who found the ten Greeks almost famished for lack of food; but in that hunger-starving fear, I fed upon the expectation of my doubtful relief.

A miserable thing it is, indeed, for man to grow an example to others in matters of affliction; yet it is necessary that some men should be so. For it pleased God, having shown a sensible disposition of favour upon me, in humbling me to the very pit of extremities, to teach me, by such an unexpected deliverance, both to put my confidence in his eternal goodness, and to know the frailty of my own self, and my ambition, which drove me often to such disasters.

The dead men being found on shore, we buried them; and I learned at that instant of time, there were seventeen boats cast away on the coast of this island, and never a man saved. In this place the Greeks set up a stone-cross, in the memorial of such a woful mischance, and mourned heavily, fasting and praying. I, rejoicing and thanking God for my safety, (leaving them sorrowing for their friends and goods), took journey through the island to Sio, for so is the city called, being thirty miles distant. In my way I passed by an old castle standing on a little hill, named *Garbos*, now *Helias*; where (as I was informed by two Greeks in my company), the sepulchre of Homer was yet extant. For this Sio is one of the seven isles and towns that contended for his birth.

Septem urbes certant de stirpe insignis Homeri.

These cities seven (I undername) did strive,
Who first brought Homer to the world alive.

Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenæ: the which I willing to see, I intreated my associates to accompany me thither; where, when

we came, we descended by sixteen degrees into a dark cell; and passing that, we entered into another four-squared room, in which I saw an ancient tomb, whereon were engraven in Greek letters, which we could not understand for their antiquity: but whether it was his tomb or not, I do not know; but this they related, and very likely it has been his sepulchre.

Homer's sepulchre.

This isle of Sio is divided into two parts, viz. Appanomera, signifying the higher or upper parts of it; the other Catomerea, that is, the level, or lower parts of the isle. It was first called *Ethalia*. It aboundeth so in oranges and lemons, that they fill barrels and pipes with the juice thereof, and carry them to Constantinople, which the Turks use at their meat, as we do verges. And also called *Pythiosa*; next *Cios*, Acts xx. 15.; and by Methrodorus *Chio*, of Chione; but at this day *Sio*. Not long ago it was under the Genoese; but now governed by the Turks. It is of circuit an hundred miles, and famous for the medicinal mastic that groweth there on trees. I saw many pleasant gardens in it, which yield in great plenty oranges, lemons, apples, pears, prunes, figs, olives, apricocks, dates, Adam's apples, excellent herbs, fair flowers, sweet honey, with store of cypresses and mulberry trees; and exceeding good silk is made here.

Sio.

At last I arrived at the city of Sio; where I was lodged and kindly used with an old man, of the Genoese race, for the space of eight days. I found here three monasteries of the order of Rome, one of the Jesuits, another of St Francis, and the third of the Dominican friars, being all come from Genoa; and because the greatest part of the city is of that stock, and of the Papal see, these cloysters have a better life for good cheer, fat wines, and delicate leachery, than any sort of friars can elsewhere find in the world.

*The fair
dames of Sio.* The women of the city Sio are the most beautiful dames (or rather angelical creatures) of all the Greeks upon the face of the earth, and greatly given to venery.

If Venus foe saw Sio's fair-fac'd dames,
His stomach cold, would burn in lust-spread flames.

They are for the most part exceeding proud and sumptuous in apparel, and commonly go (even artificers wives) in gowns of sattin and taffety; yea, in cloth of silver and gold, and are adorned with precious stones and gems, and jewels about their necks and hands, with rings, chains, and bracelets. Their husbands are their pandors; and when they see any stranger arrive, they will presently demand of him, if he would have a mistress; and so they make whores of their own wives, and are contented, for a little gain, to wear horns. Such are the base minds of ignominious cuckolds. If a stranger be desirous to stay all night with any of them, their price is a zechin of gold, nine shillings English; out of which this companion receiveth his supper, and for his pains a bellyful of sinful content. This city of Sio hath a large and strong fortress, which was built by the Genoese, and now detained by a garrison of Turks, containing a thousand fire-houses within it; some whereof are Greeks, some Genoese, some Turks and Moors. The city itself is unwalled, yet a populous and a spacious place, spread along by the sea-side, having a goodly harbour for galleys and ships. The chief inhabitants there are descended of the Genoese, and profess the superstition of Rome; the people whereof were once lords of the Ægean sea, maintaining a navy of eighty ships. In the end they became successively subject to the Roman and Greek princes, till Andronico Paleologus gave them and their isle to the Justinians, a noble family of the Genoese; from whom it was taken by Solyman

Solyman the magnificent, on Easter-day 1566, being the same year that our late gracious and sovereign Lord King James, of blessed memory, was born. This citadel or fortrefs of Sio, standing full between the sea and the harbour, was invaded by eight hundred Florentines, sent hither by the great Duke Ferdinando, brother to the Queen-mother of France, and our own Queen Mary's uncle, *anno* 1600, August 7. The manner was thus : The Genoese had sold the fort unto the Duke of Florence ; whereupon he sent his galleys and these gallants thither : where, when arrived in the night, they scaled the walls, flew the watches, and unhappily spiked up all the cannon ; and then entering the fort, put all the Turks to the sword, and among them too many Christians. The galleys all this time, being doubtful how it went, durst not enter the harbour ; but a storm falling down, they bore up to an isolet for anchorage, in the Æolian gulf, and three miles distant. The next morning, the Turkish bashaw, the city, and all the islanders, were in arms. The Florentines being deprived of their galleys, grew discouraged, and trying the cannon, which they had spoiled at their first scallade, they were of no use. Meanwhile the bashaw entered in parley with them, and promised faithfully to send them safe to the galleys, if they would surrender. Upon the third day they yielded. As they issued forth along the draw-bridge, and the bashaw set in a tent to receive them as they came in, one by one, he caused to strike off all their heads. This done, there was a pinnacle reared upon the walls of the fort with their bare skulls, which stand to this day.

*The heads of
800 Floren-
tines cut off.*

But Ferdinand, in person, the year following, was more than revenged of such a cruel and faithless proceeding. He overmastered a Turkish town and castle, put two thousand Turks to the sword, sparing neither old nor young ; and making himself master of the infinite riches and spoils of the town, he brought home

their heads with him to Leghorn, and set them up there for a merciless monument.

After some certain days attendance, I embarked in a carmoesalo, bound for Nigropont, which was out of my way to Constantinople; but because I would gladly have seen Macedonia and Theffaly, I followed that determination. In our way we touched

The isle of Mytelene. at Mytelene, an island of old called *Ija*, next *Lesbos*, and lastly *Mytelene*, of Milet the son of Phœbus. Pittacus, one

of the seven sages of Greece, the most valiant Antimenides, and his brother Alceus the lyric poet, Theophrastus the peripatetick philosopher, Arion the learned harper, and the poetess Sappho, were born in it.

This isle of Lesbos, or Mytelene, containeth in compass one hundred and forty-six miles. The east parts are level and fruitful, the west and south parts mountainous and barren. The chief cities are Mytelene and Methimnos. It was long under subjection of the Roman and Greek emperors, till Calo Joannes, *anno* 1355, gave it in dowry with his sister to Catalusio, a nobleman of Genoa; whose posterity enjoyed it till Mahomet (surnamed the *Greek*) did seize on it 1462.

A comparison of isles. These isles, Sporades, are scattered in the *Ægean* sea, like as the isles *Orcades* are in the north seas of Scotland; but

different in climate and fertility: for these south-eastern isles in summer are extreme hot, producing generally (*Nigroponti* excepted) but a few wines, fruits, and corns, scarce sufficient to sustain the islanders. But those north-western islands, in summer, are neither hot nor cold, having a most wholesome and temperate air, and do yield abundance of corn, even more than sufficient for the inhabitants; which is yearly transported to the firm land, and sold. They have also a great store of good cattle, and cheap; and the best fish that the whole ocean yieldeth is upon the coasts of *Orkney* and *Zetland*.

In

In all these separated parts of the earth, (which of themselves, of old, made up a little kingdom), you shall always find strong March-ale, surpassing fine aqua vitæ, abundance of geese, hens, pigeons, partridges, muir-fowl, mutton, beef, and termigants, with an infinite number of conies, which you may kill with a cross-bow, or harquebuss, every morning, out of your chamber-window, according to your pleasure in that pastime, which I have both practised myself, and seen practised by others; for they multiply so exceedingly, that they dig even under the foundations of dwelling-houses. Such is the will of God to bestow upon several places particular blessings; whereby he demonstrateth to man, the plentiful storehouse of his gracious providence, so many manner of ways upon earth distributed: all glory be to his incomprehensible goodness therefor. I have seldom seen, in all my travels, more toward and tractable people, (I mean their gentlemen), and better housekeepers, than these Orcadians and Zetlanders are; whereof, in the prime of my youth, (by two voyages amongst these northern isles), I had the full proof and experience.

And now certainly, as it is a sign of little wisdom, and great folly, for a man to answer suddenly to every light question; so it is as great shame and stupidity in a man to keep silence, when he should and may deservedly speak: wherefore damnifying the one, and vilifying the other, I come forth between both, (*pugno pro patria*), to have a single bout with the ignorant malice of an imperious and abortive geographer, brought up in the schools near Thames, and westward Ho at Oxford; who blindly, in an absurd description of the world, hath produced many errors, and manifest untruths, to the world.

The plentifulness of Orkney and Zetland.

Dr Heylin, in his Microcosmus, in his description of Scotland and Isle of Man.

And these amongst thousands more, which I justly can censure to be false; namely, he reporteth the Ar-

cadians to be a cruel and barbarous people, and that the most part of Scotland regarded neither king nor law; terming us also to have monstrous backs against the execution of justice: And because (saith he) they resemble us somewhat in visage and speech, the Scots are descended of the Saxons; where, when the black wings of the eagle spread in the south, they fled thither, thinking rather to enjoy penurious liberty, than rich fetters of gold: Moreover, that the scur-

*False aspersions
upon Scotland*

vy isle of Man, is so abundant in oats, barley, and wheat, that it supplieth the defects of Scotland. So venomous also is the wormwood of his brain, that he impugneth Hector Boetius to have mentioned a rabble of Scottish kings before Kenneth, the first monarch of all Scotland; but were he fast rabbled in a rope, I think his presumptuous and impertinent phrase were well recompensed. Yea, further, he dares to write, that if the mountains, and inaccessible woods, had not been more true to the Scots than their own valour, that kingdom had long since been subdued.

Many other introductions flow from his shallow base-branded apprehension, which I purposely omit. To this his perverse malignity (without partial or particular construction) I generally answer, that for courteous penetrating lenity, industrious tractability, prompt and exquisite ingenuity, nobly taught, vivacious, and virtuous gentility; humane and illustrious generosity; inviolate, and uncommixed national pedigree; learned, academical, and ecclesiastical clergy; for sincere religion, and devout piety; affable and benevolent hospitality; civil and zealous orders in spirituality; so docible a people to supreme regality; and for true valour, courage, and magnanimity, there is no kingdom, or nation, within the compass of the whole universe, can excel, or compare with it.

Now what a self Lofungeous fellow hath this fustian companion proved, when the flat contrary of his abjured impositions is infallibly known to be of undoubted truth. And how often hath Europe, the seat of Christendom,

Christendom, and mistress of the world, had the full experience, in all her distressed corners, of the valiant, faithful service, and irresistible valour of the people, of that never conquered nation, the testimonies are evident. For my part I desist, and will not meddle to peramble through peremptory inferences on particular kingdoms, although I acquittingly can; howsoever this pertinacious Buffoon dare, and falsely will do it.

Each base fantastic brain dare forge new stiles,
And alter regions, customs, towns, and isles:
Strip'd in a bravade, he can join (disjoin
Contiguous kingdoms) distant lands in one.
First, broker-like, he scrapes rags, snips and bites,
Then plays the ruffian, shifting with his wits:
Last, serpent-like, he casts a winter-skin,
And, like a strumpet, boldly enters in.
This charling ape, which counterfeits and lies,
And blandements, would feed the world's wide eyes.
Thus, like a stupid ass, this blockhead fool
Must turn a coxcomb, studying in the school.
Would he be wise, and exercise his brains,
Go travel first, experience knowledge gains.
Dare he to write of kingdoms, that ne'er saw
His father's ox, perhaps the plough to draw;
And scarce can tell, even of the bread he eats,
How many frames it suffers, toil, and sweats;
Nor ne'er ten miles once travell'd from his cradle,
Yet fain would sit the fleer'd Pegasian saddle:
Whiles loit'ring in a college, thus he dare,
Sow lies, reap shame, build lott'ries in the air.
Go, doating gull; go, blot away thy name,
And let thy labours perish with thy fame.

This isle of Mytelene, is by the Turks called *Sarcum*, lying without the mouth of the gulf of Smyrna, and opposite to the western coast of Phrygia minor; where, besides excellent wine and corns, there are two sorts of dregs made there, which the Turks use to put in their pottage: In Turkish, the one is called *Trachana*, the other

other *Boubort*, which the Romans anciently named *Crimmon* and *Mazza*. Whence loosing from Mytelene, in the aforefaid carmoeſalo, we

The iſle Androſia. touched at Dalamede, in the iſle Androſia, the northmoſt iſle of the Cyclades, toward Theſſalia: It is indiffer-

ent copious of all things neceſſary for human life, and round ſixty miles. The Athenians of old (as Plutarch mentioneth) ſent hither Themiſtocles to demand tribute: Themiſtocles told them, he came to inflict ſome great impoſition upon them, being accompanied with two goddeſſes; the one was Eloquence, to perſuade them; and the other was Violence, to enforce them. Whereunto the Androſians replied, That on their ſide, they had two goddeſſes as ſtrong; the one whereof was Neceſſity, whereby they had it not; and the other Impoſſibility, whereby they could not part with that they never enjoyed.

This *Ægean* ſea, or mare *Ægeum*, had its denomination from *Ægeus*, the father of *Theſeus*, who, miſdoubting his ſon's return from the minotaur of *Crete*, here leaped in, and drowned himſelf. The greateſt part of theſe ſixty-nine kings that *Agamemnon* took with him to the ſiege of *Troy*, were only kings of theſe little iſlands. By ſome they are divided into two parts, *Cyclades*, and *Sporades*; the former containing fifty-four, and the latter twelve iſles: modernly they are all called *Archipelago*, or the *Arch-iſlands*.

Hoifting ſail from Dalamede, we ſet over to *Nigroponti*, being ſixty miles diſtant; and bearing up eaſtward to double the ſouth cape, we ſtraight diſcovered two Turkiſh galleots purſuing us; whereupon, with both ſails and oars, we fought into the bottom of a long creek, on the weſt ſide of the cape, called *Bajo*

di piſcatori; whether alſo fled nine fiſh-
Two Turkiſh galleots. er boats for refuge. The galleots fearing to follow us in, went to anchor at a

rocky iſolet in the mouth of the bay, and then within night were reſolved to aſſail us. But night come, and every night of ſix, (for there ſix days they expected

expected us), we made such bonfires, that so affrighted them, (being two miles from any village), they durst never adventure it; yet I being a stranger, was exposed by the untoward Greeks to stand centinel every night, on the top of a high promontory, it being the dead time of a snowy and frosty winter, which did invite my muse to bewail the tossing of my toilsome life, my solitary wandering, and the long distance of my native soil.

*Carmina secessum scribentis et otia quærunt;
Me mare, me venti, me fera jactat hyems.*

I Wander in exile,
As though my pilgrimage
Were sweet comedian scenes of love,
Upon a golden stage.
Ah, I, poor I, distress'd,
Oft changing to and fro,
Am forc'd to sing sad obsequies
Of this my swan-like woe.
A vagabonding guest,
Transported here and there,
Led with the mercy-wanting winds
Of fear, grief, and despair.
Thus ever moving I,
To restless journies thrald,
Obtains by times triumphing frowns,
A calling, unrecall'd.
Was I preordained so,
Like Tholo's ghost, to stand
Three times four hours, in twenty-four,
With musket in my hand,
O'er-blasted with the storms
Of winter-beating snow,
And frosty pointed hail-stones hard
On me, poor wretch, to blow?
No, architecture, lo,

But

But whirling windy skies,
O'erfill'd with thundering claps of clouds,
Earth's centre to surprise.

Ay, ay, it is my fate,
Allots this fatal cross,
And reckons up in characters,
The time of my time's loss.

My destiny is such,
Which doth predestine me,
To be a mirrour of mishaps,
A map of misery.

Extremely do I live,
Extremes are all my joy,
I find in deep extremities,
Extremes extreme annoy.

Now, all alone I watch,
With Argos eyes and wit;
A cypher 'twixt the Greeks and Turks,
Upon this rock I sit.

A constrain'd captive I,
'Mongst incompassionate Greeks,
Bare-headed, downward bows my head,
And liberty still seeks.

But all my suits are vain,
Heaven sees my woful state,
Which makes me say, my world's eye-sight
Is bought at too high a rate.

Would God I might but live,
To see my native soil;
Thrice happy in my happy wish,
To end this endless toil.

Yet still when I record
The pleasant banks of Clyde,
Where orchards, castles, towns, and woods,
Are planted by his side;

And chiefly Lanerk thou,
Thy country's laureat lamp,
In which this bruised body now
Did first receive the stamp.

Then

Then do I sigh and swear,
Till death or my return,
Still for to wear the willow-wreath,
In fable weed to mourn.
Since in this dying life,
A life in death I take,
I'll sacrifice in spite of wrath,
These solemn vows I make.
To thee, sweet Scotland, first,
My birth and breath I leave :
To heaven my soul, my heart King James,
My corps to lie in grave.
My staff to pilgrims I,
And pen to poets send,
My hair-cloth robe, and half-spent goods,
To wandering wights I lend.
Let them dispose as though
My treasure were of gold,
Which values more in purest prize,
Than dross ten thousand fold.
These trophies I erect,
Whiles memory remains :
An epitomis'd epitaph,
On Lithgow's restless pains.
My will's inclos'd with love,
My love with earthly bliss,
My bliss in substance doth consist,
To crave no more but this.
Thou first, is, was, and last,
Eternal, of thy grace,
Protect, prolong, Great Britain's king,
His son, and Royal race.

A M E N.

Upon the seventh day, there came down to visit us two gentlemen of Venice, cloathed after the Turkish manner; who, under exile, were banished their native territories ten years for slaughter; each of them having two servants, and all of them carrying shables, and

two guns a-piece : which, when I understood they were Italians, I addrest myself to them, with a heavy complaint against the Greeks, in detaining my budgeto, and compelling me to endanger my life for their goods ; whereupon they accusing the patron, and finding him guilty of this oppression, belaboured him soundly with handy-blows, and caused him to deliver my things, carrying me with them five miles to a town, where they remained, called *Rethenos*, formerly *Carastia*, where I was exceeding kindly entertained ten days : and most nobly (as indeed they were noble) they bestowed on me forty zechins of gold at my departure, for the better advancement of my voyage ; which was the first gift that ever I received in all my travels. For if the darts of death had not been more advantageous to me than Asiatic gifts, I had never been able to have undergone this tributary, tedious, and sumptuous peregrination. The goodness of the divine providence, in allotting me means, from the loss of my dearest companions, gave me, in the deepness of my sorrow, a thankful rejoicing.

The isle Nigroponti. Nigroponti was formerly called *Eubœa*, next *Albantes*, and is now named *the Queen of Archipelago*. The Turks call this isle *Egribos*. The town of Ni-

gropont, from which the isle taketh the name, was taken in by Mahomet II. anno 1451 ; and in this isle is found the amianten stone, which is said to be drawn in threads, as out of flax, whereof they make napkins, and other like stuffs ; and to make it white, they use to throw it in the fire, being salted. The stone also is found here, called by the Greeks *Ophites*, and by us *Serpentine*. The circuit of this isle is three hundred and forty-six miles. It is separated from the firm land of Thessalia, from the which it was once rent by an earthquake, with a narrow channel ; over the which, in one place, there is a bridge, that passeth between the isle and the main continent, and under it runneth a marvellous swift current or euripus, which ebbeth and floweth

floweth six times night and day. Within half a mile of the bridge, I saw a marble column, standing on the top of a little rock, whence (as the islanders told me) Aristotle leaped in, and drowned himself, after that he could not conceive the reason why this channel so ebbed and flowed; using these words, *Quia ego non capio te, tu capias me.* This isle bringeth forth in abundance all things requisite for human life, and is adorned with many goodly villages.

Aristotle's death.

The chief cities are Nigropont and Calchos: The principal rivers, Cyro and Nelos; of whom it is said, if a sheep drink of the former, his wool becometh white; if of the latter, coal black. From thence, and after twenty-two days abode in this isle, I arrived at a town in Macedonia, called *Salonica*, but of old *Theffalonica*, where I staid five days, and was much made of by the inhabitants, being Jews.

Salonica is situated by the sea-side, between the two rivers Chabris and Ehedora. It is a pleasant, large, and magnificent city, full of all sorts of merchandise; and it is nothing inferior in all things (except nobility) unto Naples in Italy. It was formerly under the signiory of Venice, till Amurach, the son of Mahomet, took it from this republic, and is the principal place of Theffaly, which is a province of Macedon, together with Achaia, and Myrmedon, which are the other two provinces of the same.

Salonica.

This city of *Salonica* is now converted into an university for the Jews, and they are absolute signiors thereof under the great Turk, with a large territory of land lying without and about them. It hath been ever in their hands since Soliman took in Buda in Hungary, *anno* 1516, August 20: to whom they lent two millions of money; and for warrandice whereof, they have this town and province made fast to them. They speak vulgarly and maternally here the Hebrew tongue, man, woman, and child, and not elsewhere in all the world. All their Synagogian, or Levitical priests, are bred

bred here, and from hence dispersed to their several stations.

Theffaly. Theffaly, along the sea-side, lieth between Peloponnesus and Achaia; wherein standeth the hill Olympus, on which Hercules did institute the Olympian games; which institution was of long time the Grecian epocha, from whence they reckoned their time.

Macedon is now called by the Turks *Galethiros*, signifying a mighty and warlike nation. Macedonia, containing Theffaly, Achaia, and Mirmidonia, lieth as a centre to them, having Achaia to the east, Theffalia to the south, Mirmidonia, bordering with Ætolia, to the west; and a part of Hœmus, whence it was called *Hœmonia*, and some of Misia superior to the north: It was also called *Amathia*, from Amathus, once king thereof, and then *Macedonia*, from the King Macedo. The chief cities are Andorista, Andeffo, Sydra, Sede-raspen, where the mines of gold and silver be, which enrich the Turk so monthly, receiving thence sometimes eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty thousand ducats; and Pellia, where Alexander the Great was born. Bajazet I. won this country from the Constantinopolitans. About this city of Salonica is the most fertile and populous country in all Greece.

The vicissitude of Greece. Greece, of all kingdoms in Europe, hath been most famous, and highly renowned for many noble respects; yet more subject to the vicissitude of fortune than any others; who changing gold for brass, and loathing their own princes, suffered many tyrants to rule over them, paying for their folly with their fall, and curing a festered sore with a poisoned plaister: whence succeeded a dismal discord; which beginning when the state of Greece was at the highest, did not expire till it fell to the lowest ebb; sticking fast in the hands of a grievous desolation; which former times, if a man would retrospectively measure, he might easily find, and not without admiration, how the mighty power of the Divine Majesty doth sway the moments of things, and

and forteth them in peremptory manner to strange and unlooked for effects ; making reason blind, policy astonished, strength feeble, valour dastardly, turning love into hatred, fear into fury, boldness into trembling, and, in the circuit of one minute, making the conqueror a conquered person.

Greece, now termed by the Turks *Rum-Ili*, the Roman country, was first called *Helles*, next *Grecia* of *Grecus*, who was once king thereof. The Greeks, of all other Gentiles, were the first converted Christians, and are wonderful devout in their professed religion. The priests wear the hair of their heads hanging over their shoulders : These that be the most sincere religious men, abstain always from eating of flesh or fish, contenting themselves with water, herbs, and bread. They differ much in ceremonies and principles of religion from the Papists ; and the computation of their kalendar is as ours.

They have four patriarchs, who govern the affairs of their church, and also any civil dissensions which happen amongst them, viz. one in Constantinople, another in Antiochia, the third in Alexandria, and the fourth in Jerusalem. It is not needful for me to penetrate further into the condition of their estate, because it is no part of my intent in this treatise. In a word, they are wholly degenerate from their ancestors in valour, virtue, and learning. Universities they have none, and civil behaviour is quite lost. Formerly, in derision, they termed all other nations *Barbarians* ; a name now most fit for themselves, being the greatest dissembling liars, inconstant, and uncivil people, of all other Christians in the world.

By the way, I must give the king's subjects a caveat here, concerning vagabond Greeks, and their counterfeit testimonials. True it is, there is no such matter, as these lying rascals report unto you, concerning their fathers, their wives, and children,

Four patriarchs in the Greekish church.

False testimonials of vagabond Greeks.

taken captives by the Turk, O damnable invention ! How can the Turk prey upon his own subjects, under whom they have as great liberty, save only the use of bells, as we have under our princes, the tithe of their male children being absolutely abrogated by Achmet, this Amurath's father, and the half also of their female dowry at marriages : And far less for religion can they be banished, or deprived of their benefices, as some false and dissembling fellows, under the title of *bishops*, make you believe ; there being a free liberty of conscience for all kinds of religion, through all his dominions, as well for us free-born Franks, as for them, and much more them, the Greeks, Armenians, Syriacs, Amoronits, Copties, Georgians, or any other oriental sort of Christians : And therefore look to it, that you be no more gulled, by giving them money so fast as you have done, lest, for your pains, you prove greater asses than they do knaves.

In Salonica I found a germo bound for Tenedos, in which I embarked. As we sailed along the Theffalopian shore, I saw the two-topped hill Parnassus, which is of a wondrous height, whose tops even kiss the clouds.

*Mons ibi cervicibus petit arduus astra duabus,
Nomine Parnassus, superatque cacumine nubes.*

Through thickest clouds Parnassus bends his height,
Whose double tops do kiss the stars so bright.

Here it was said the nine muses haunted : but as for the fountain Helicon, I leave that to be searched and seen by the imagination of poets ; for if it had been exposed to my sight, like an insatiable drunkard, I should have drunk up the streams of poesy, to have enlarged my dry poetical sun-scorched vein *.

The

* Parnassus, a craigy mountain of ancient Greece, rendered famous by the poets, and sacred to Apollo and the muses. It lies in the west part of Achaia, the modern Livadia, a province of European Turkey, and north of the gulf of Lepanto. Its high tops
terminating

The mountain itself is somewhat steep and steril, especially the two tops, the one whereof is dry and sandy, signifying that poets are always poor and needy; the other top is barren and rocky, resembling the ingratitude of wretched and niggardly patrons; the vale between the tops is pleasant and profitable, denoting the fruitful and delightful soil, which painful poets, the muses plough-men, so industriously manure. A little more eastward, as we fetched up the coast of Achaia, the master of the vessel shewed me a ruinous village and castle, where he said the admired city of Thebes had been: Whose *Thebes*. former glory who can truly write of?

for as the earth, when she is disrobed of her budding and fructifying trees, and of her amiable verdure, which is her only grace and garment royal, is like a naked table wherein nothing is painted; even so is Thebes and her past triumphs defaced, and bereft of her lusty and young gentlemen, as if the spring tide had been taken from the year. But what shall I say to know the cause of such like things, they are so secret and mystical? being the most remote objects to which our understanding may aspire, that we may easily be deceived, by disguised and pretended reasons, whilst we seek for the true and essential causes: for to report things that are done is easy, because the eye and the tongue may dispatch it; but to discover and unfold the causes of things, requireth brain, soul, and the best progress of nature. And as there is no evil without excuse, nor no pretence without some colour of reason, nor wiles wanting to malicious and wrangling wits, even so was there occasion sought for, what from Athens, and what from Greece, whereby the peace and

terminating in two points, peaks, it was hence of old called *Biceps Parnassus*. Between these abundance of water falls after rain or snow. Here is likewise a plentiful fountain, continually issuing out from among the rocks, and supposed to be the ancient Castalia of which the Pythian prophets, and the poets who pretended to inspiration, used to drink, and whither they went to bathe themselves.
— Barrow's Geographical Dictionary, on the word *Parnassus*.

happinefs of Thebes might be diffolved, and discord raifed to the laft ruins of her defolation.

This Achaia is by fome ignorant geographers placed in the middle between Epire, Theffaly, and Peloponnefus; where, contrariwife, it is the eaftmoft province of Greece, except Thrace, lying along betwixt it and Theffaly, by the fea-fide; which part of the country fome late authors have falſely named *Migdonia*, which is a province that lieth north from Thracia, eaft from Macedon, and fouth from Mifia, having no affinity with the fea. The chief cities in Achaia are Neapolis, Appollonia, and Nicalide, where the famous philoſopher Ariſtotle was born. Here is the huge and high hill Athos, containing in circuit ſeventy miles, and, as ſome affirm, three days journey long, whoſe ſhadow was abſurdly ſaid to have extended to Lemnos, an iſland lying near the Carpathian ſea.

Achaia was formerly called *Aylaida*, but now by the Turks *Levienda*. Athos, in Greek, is called *Agios oros*, to wit, a holy mountain. The top of it is half a day's journey broad, and fourteen Italian miles high. There are twenty monaſteries upon it of Greekiſh coleires, a laborious kind of ſilly friars, and kind to ſtrangers; the chief of which cloiſters are called *Viſtopodos*, and *Agios laura*, being all of them ſtrongly walled and fencible.

Upon the third day from Salonica we arrived in the road of Tenedos, which is an iſland in the ſea Pontus, or Propontis. It is a city called *Tenedos*, built by Tennes, which is a gallant place, having a caſtle, and a fair haven for all ſorts of veſſels. It produceth good ſtore of wines, and the beſt ſuppoſed to be in all the ſouth-eaſt parts of Europe, or yet in Aſia. The iſland is not big, but exceeding fertile, lying three miles from the place where Troy ſtood, as Virgil reported, *Æneid* 2.

Eſt in conſpectu Tenedos, notiffima fama inſula.

In fight of Troy a ſtately iſle I ſand,
Shut up with Pontus from the Trojan land;

Whofe

Whose beauteous bounds made me wish there to
stay,

Or that I might transport the same away;
Else like Tritonean rude Propontic charms,
T' embrace sweet Tenes always in my arms.

And again,

Insula dives opum, Priami dum regna manebant.

An isle most rich, in silks, delicious wine,
When Priam's kingdom did in glory shine;
Where Ceres now and Bacchus love to dwell,
And Flora too, in Berecinthia's cell.

In Tenedos I met by accident two French merchants of Marfeilles, intending for Constantinople, who had lost their ship at Sio, when they were busy at venerable tilting with their new-elected mistresses, and for a second remedy were glad to come thither in a Turkish carmoesalo. The like of this I have seen fall out with sea-faring men, merchants, and passengers, who sometimes buy their too much folly with too dear a repentance. They and I resolving to view Troy, did hire a janizary to be our conductor and protector, and a Greek to be our interpreter; where, when we landed, we saw here and there many relicts of old walls, as we travelled through these famous bounds. And as we were advanced toward the east part of Troy, our Greek brought us to many tombs, which were mighty ruinous; and pointed us particularly to the tombs of Hector, Ajax, Achilles, Troilus, and many other valiant champions, with the tombs also of Hecuba, Cressid, and other Trojan dames. Indeed I saw a great number of old sepulchres; but for their particular names, and nomination of them, I suspend; neither could I believe my interpreter, since it is more than three thousand and odd years ago that Troy was destroyed.

*The tombs of
Trojans.*

Here tombs I view'd, old monuments of times,
 And fiery trophies, fix'd for bloody crimes;
 For which Achilles ghost did sigh and say,
 Curs'd be the hands that sakeless Trojans slay;
 But more fierce Ajax, more Ulysses horse,
 That wrought griefs ruin, Priam's last divorce.
 And here inclos'd within these clods of dust,
 All Asia's honour, and cross'd Paris lust.

*Priam's
 palace.*

He shewed us also the ruins of King Priam's palace, and where Anchises, the father of Æneas, dwelt. At the north-east corner of Troy, which is in sight of the castles of Hellespont, there is a gate yet standing, and a piece of a reasonable high wall; upon which I found three pieces of rusty money, which afterward I gave two of them to the younger brethren of the Duke of Florence, then studying in Pretolino. The other being the fairest, with a large picture on the one side, I bestowed it at Aise in Provence, upon a learned scholar, Mr Strachan, my countryman, then mathematician to the Duke of Guise; who presently did present his Lord and Prince with it.

*A description
 of Troy.*

Where the pride of Phrygia stood, it is a most delightful plain, abounding now in corns, fruits, and delicate wines, and may be called the garden of Natolia; yet not populous; for there are but only five scattered villages in all that bounds. The length of Troy hath been, as may be discerned by the fundamental walls yet extant, about twenty Italian miles, which I reckon to be ten Scottish, or fifteen English miles, lying along the sea-side, between the three papes of Ida and the farthest end eastward of the river Simois; whose breadth, all the way, hath not outstripped the fields above two miles. The inhabitants of these five scattered boroughs therein are for the most part Greeks; the rest are Jews and Turks.

And so in the frontispiece is my effigy affixed, with
 my

my Turkish habit, my walking staff, and my turban upon my head, even as I travelled in the bounds of Troy, and so through all Turkey. Before my face, on the right hand, standeth the eastern and sole gate of that formerly noble city, with a piece of a high wall as yet undecayed; and without this port runneth the river Simois (inclosing the old Grecian camp) down to the marine, where it embraceth the sea Propontis. A little below are bunches of grapes, denoting the vineyards of this fructiferous place, adjoining near to the fragments and ruins of Priam's palace, called *Ilium*: and next to it a ravenous eagle; for so this part of Phrygia are full of them. So beneath my feet the two tombs of Priamus, and Hecuba his queen; and under them the incircling hills of Ida, at the west south-west end of this once regal town; and at my left hand the delicious and pleasant fields of olives and fig-trees, wherewith the bowels of this famous soil are interlarded. And here this piece or portraiture deciphered, the continuing discourse enlarging both mean and manner.

*The author's
portraiture.*

Troy was first built by Dardanus, son to Corinthus king of Corinth; who having slain his brother Jasius, fled to this country, and first erected it, intitling it *Dardania*. Next it was called *Troy*, of Tros, from whom the country was also named *Troas*. It was also termed *Ilion*, of Ilus, who built the regal palace, called *Ilium*. This city was taken and defaced by Hercules, and the Grecians, in the time of Laomedon, himself being killed the latter time. Lastly, Troy was rebuilt by Priamus, who, giving leave to his son Paris to ravish Helena, Menelaus's wife, enforced the Greeks to renew the ancient quarrel; where, after ten years siege, the town was utterly subverted, *anno mundi* 1783.

Whence princely Homer, and that Mantuan born,
Sad tragic tunes erected for Troy forlorn;

And sad Æneas fled to the Afric coast,
 Where Carthage groan'd to hear how Troy was lost.
 But more kind Dido, when this wand'ring prince,
 (Had left Numidia, stole away from thence)
 Did worser groan; who, with his shearing sword,
 Herself she gor'd, with many weeping word.
 O dear Æneas, dear Trojan, art thou gone?
 And then she fell, death swallow'd up her moan.
 They land at Cuma, where Latinus king
 Did give Æneas Lavinia, with a ring.
 Where now in Latium, that old Dardan stock,
 Is extant yet, though in the descent broke.

On the south-west side of Troy stand-
Rash judge- eth the hill Ida, having three heads; on
ment. which Paris, out of a sensual delight,
 rejecting Juno and Pallas, judged the
 golden ball to Venus, fatal in the end to the whole
 country; the ruins of which are come to that poetical
 proverb, *Nunc seges est ubi Troja fuit.*

Now corn doth grow, where once fair Troy hath
 stood,
 And soil made fat with streams of Phrygian blood.

Leaving the fields of noble Ilium, we crossed the ri-
 ver of Simois, and dined at a village named *Extetash*.
 I remember, in discharging our covenant with the ja-
 nizary, who was not contented with the former condi-
 tion, the Frenchmen making obstacle to pay that which
 I had given, the wrathful janizary belaboured them both
 with a cudgel, till the blood sprung from their heads,
 and compelled them to double his wages. This is one
 true note to a traveller, (whereof I had the full expe-
 rience after), that if he cannot make his own part good,
 he must always, at the first motion, content these raf-
 cals, otherwise he will be constrained, doubtless, with
 strokes, to pay twice as much: for they make no ac-
 count of conscience, nor are ruled by the law of compas-
 sion; neither regard they a Christian more than a dog;
 but

but whatsoever extortion or injury they use against him, he must be, French like, contented, bowing his head, and making a counterfeit shew of thanks, and happy too oftentimes if so he escape.

Hence we arrived at the castles, called of old *Sestos* and *Abydos*, in a small frigate, which are two fortresses opposite to other; *Sestos* in Europe, where Thracia beginneth; and *Abydos* *Sestos and Abydos.* in Asia, where Bithynia likewise commenceth, being a short mile distant, and both of them four leagues from Troy. They stand at the beginning of Hellespont, and were also denominated the castles of Hero and Leander, which were erected in a commemoration of their admirable fidelity in love.

Which curling tops, Leander cut in two,
And through proud billows made his passage go,
To court his mistress: O Hero the fair!
Whom Hellespont to stop was forc'd to dare.
Sweet was their fight to other, short their stay,
For still Leander was recall'd by day.
At last stern Æole, put on Neptune's pride,
And gloomy Hellespont their loves divide.
He swims, and sinks, and in that glutting down,
The angry fates did kind Leander drown.
Of which when Hero heard, judge you her part,
She smote herself, and rent in two her heart.

But now they are commonly called the castles of Gallipoli, yea, or rather the strength of Constantinople; between which no ships may enter, without knowledge of the captains, and are by them strictly and warily searched, lest the Christians should carry in men, ammunition, or furniture of arms; for they stand in fear of surprising the town. And at their return they must stay three days before they are permitted to go through, because of transporting away any Christian slaves, or if they have committed any offence in

in the city, the knowledge thereof may come in that time.

Christian At that same instant of my abode at
slaves fled Abydos, there were eighty Christian
from Constan- slaves, who having cut their captain's
tinople. throat, with the rest of the Turks, run
away from Constantinople with the gal-

ley. And passing here the second day thereafter, at midnight, were discovered by the watch of both castles, where the cannon never left thundering for two hours; yet they escaped with small hurt, and at last arrived in the road of Zante, desiring landing and succour, for their victuals were done. Victuals they sent them; but the governor would not suffer them to come on land. In the end, the sea growing somewhat boisterous, the slaves, for an excuse, cut their cables, and run the galley ashore. Upon this they were entertained in service; but the providitor caused to burn the galley, fearing lest the Turks should thereby forge some quarrel. The year following, another galley attempted the same; but the poor slaves having passed the castles, had been so wounded and killed with the great shot, and the galley ready to sink, they were forced to run ashore, whereby the next morning being apprehended, they were miserably put to death. Betwixt the castles and Constantinople is about forty leagues. Over this strait Xerxes did make a bridge of boats to pass into Greece; whence, when a sudden tempest had arisen, he caused the sea to be beat with three hundred stripes.

And at that same time Xerxes passing over the Hellespont, and seeing all the sea clad with his army, his horses, chariots, and ships, the tears burst from his eyes; and being demanded the cause of
The sorrow his grief, answered, "O," said he, "I
of Xerxes. weep because within a hundred years all
this great and glorious sight shall be dissolved to nothing, and neither man nor beast shall be alive, nor chariot, nor engine of war, but shall be turned to dust; and so I sorrow to see the short mortality

talities of nature." Indeed it was a worthy saying, from such a heathenish monarch, who saw no further than the present misery of this life.

Here I left the two Frenchmen with a Greek barber, and embarked for Constantinople in a Turkish frigate. The first place of any note I saw within these narrow seas, was the ancient city of Gallipolis, the second seat of Thracia, which was first built by Caius Caligula, and sometime had been inhabited by the Gauls. It was the first town in Europe that the Turks conquered, and was taken by Solyman, son to Orchanes, anno 1438.

North from Thracia lieth the province of Bulgaria, commonly Volgaria, and was called so of certain people that came from a country near to the river Volgo in Russia, about the year 666. It lieth between Servia, Thracia, and Danubio; and by the ancients it was thought to be the Lower Mysia, but more justly the region of Dacia. The chief town is Sophia, which some hold to be that town which Ptolomeus named *Tibisca*.

Here in Thracia lived the tyrant Polymnestor, who treacherously murdered Polydorus, a younger son of Priamus. For which fact Hecuba, the young prince's mother, scratched him to death. Here also reigned the worthy King Cotis, whom I propose as a pattern of rare temper, in mastering and preventing passion. To whom, when a neighbouring prince had sent him an exquisite present of accurately-wrought glasses, he (having dispatched the messenger with all due compliments and gratitude of majesty) broke them all to pieces, lest by mishap any of his servants doing the like, might stir or move him to an intemperate choler.

The Greeks here, and generally through all Greece, bear as much reverence and respect to Mount Athos, as the Papists bear to *Mount Athos*. Rome. All of whose religious coelestials and friars must toil and labour for their living, some in the vines, some in the corn-fields, and others at home in their monasteries, or elsewhere abroad, and
are

are always occupied for the maintaining of their families. They are but poorly clad, yet wonderful kind to all Viadants : So that whoſo have occaſion to paſs that mountain are there lodged, and furniſhed of all neceſſary proviſion of food, by theſe ſequeſtrate or ſolitary livers, whoſe ſimple and harmleſs lives may be termed to be the very emblems of piety and devotion ; knowing nothing but to ſerve God, and to live ſoberly in their carriage.

The chief cities of Thrace are, Conſtantinople, Abdera, where Democritus was born, who ſpent his life in laughing, Seſtos, Gallipoli, Trajanople, Galata, and Adrianopolis, which was taken by Bajazet *anno* 1362.

As we ſailed between Thracia and Bithynia, a learned Grecian, brought up in Padua, that was in my company, ſhewed me Colchis, whence Jaſon, with the aſſiſtance of the Argonautes, and the aid of Medea's ſkill, did fetch the golden fleece. This ſea Hellespont took the

The ſea of Hellespont. name of *Helle*, daughter to Athamas King of Thebes, who was here drowned ; and of the country Pontus, joining to the ſame ſea, wherein are theſe three

countries, Armenia minor, Colchis, and Cappadocia. After we had come up to the famous city of Chalcedon, in Bithynia, on our right hand, I beheld on our left hand the proſpect of that little world, the great city of Conſtantinople ; which indeed yieldeth ſuch an outward ſplendor to the amazed beholder, of goodly churches, ſtately towers, gallant ſteeples, and other ſuch things, whereof now the world make ſo great account, that the whole earth cannot equal it. Beholding theſe delectable objects, we entered into the channel of Boſphorus, which divideth Perah from Conſtantinople ; and arriving at Tapanau, where all the ammunition of the great Turk lieth, I addreſſed myſelf to a Greek lodging, to reſreſh myſelf till morning.

A harſh arrival. But I had a hard welcome in my landing. For bidding farewel to the Turks, who had kindly uſed me three days, in our paſſage from the caſtles, the maſter

fter of the boat faying, *adio Christiano*, there were four French runnagates ftanding on the key, who hearing thefe words, fell desperately upon me, blaspheming the name of Jefus, and throwing me to the ground, beat me moft cruelly ; and if it had not been for my friendly Turks, who leaped out of their boat, and relieved me, I had doubtlefs there perifhed. The other infidels ftanding by, faid to me, “ Behold what a Saviour thou haft, when thefe that were Chriftians, now turned Mahometans, cannot abide nor regard the name of thy God.” Having left them, with many a fad blow they had left me, I entered a Greek lodging, where I was kindly received, and much eafed of my blows, becaufe they caufed them to be anointed with divers oils, and refreshed me alfo with their beft entertainment *gratis*, becaufe I had fuffered fo much for Chrift’s fake ; and would receive no recompence again. The day following I went to falute, and do my duty to the Right Worftipful Sir Thomas Glover, then Lord Ambaffador for our late gracious fovereign King James, of bleffed memory, who moft generously and courteoufly entertained me three months in his houfe, to whole kindnefs I was infinitely obliged ; as hereafter in my following difcourfe of the fourth part of this hiftory, fhall be more particularly avouched : for certainly I never met with a more complete gentleman in all my travels, nor one in whom true worth did more illuftrate virtue.

P A R T

P A R T IV.

*Now sing I of Byzantium ; Bosphor's tides,
 Twixt Europe and the Lesser Asia glides.
 Their Hippodrome, adorn'd with triumphs past,
 And blackish sea, the Iadileck more fast :
 The Galata, where Christian merchants stay,
 And five ambassadors for commerce ay :
 The Turkish customs, and their manners rude,
 And of their descent from the Scythian blood :
 Their harsh religion, and their sense of hell,
 And Paradise, their laws I shall you tell :
 Then last of Mahomet, their God on earth,
 His end, his life, his parentage and birth.*

Constantinople is the metropolitan of Thracia, so called of Constantine the emperor, who first enlarged the same. It was called of old *Byzantium*, but now by the Turks *Stambolda*, which signifies, in their language, a large city. It was also called *Ethuse*, and by the Greeks *Stymbolis*. This city (according to ancient authors) was first founded by the Lacedemonians, who were conducted from Lacedemon, by one Pausanias, about the year of the world 3294, which after their consultation with Apollo, where they should settle their abode and dwelling-place, they came to Bithynia, and builded a city which was called *Chalcedon*. But the commodity of fishing falling out contrary to their expectation, in respect that the fishes were afraid of the white banks of the city ; the Captain Pausanias left that place, and builded *Byzantium* in Thracia, which first was by him intitled *Ligos*. By Pliny, Justin, and Strabo, it was surnamed *Urbs Illustrissima*, because it is repleted with all the blessings earth can give to man ; yea, in the most fertile soil of Europe.

Zonoras

Zonoras reporteth, that the Athenians, in an ambitious and insatiable desire of sovereignty, won it from the Lacedemonians. They thus being vanquished, suborned Severus the Roman emperor to besiege the same. But the city Byzantium being strongly fortified with walls, the Romans could not take it in, until extreme famine constrained them to yield, after three years siege; and Severus, to satisfy his cruelty, put all to the sword that were within, and razed the walls, giving it in possession to the neighbouring Perinthians. This city thus remained in calamity till Constantine (resigning the city of Rome, and a great part of Italy, to the popish inheritance of the Roman bishops) rebuilt the same, and translated his imperial seat into the east, and reduced all the empire of Greece to an entire tranquillity, with immortal reputation, which the Parthians and Persians had so miserably disquieted.

*Byzantium
rebuilt by
Constantine.*

But these disorders were at length reformed by the severe administration of justice; for the which, and other worthy respects, the said Constantine, son of St Helen, and emperor of Rome, (which afterward the Pope usurped), was surnamed *the Great*. He first, in his plantation, called this city *New Rome*; but when he beheld the flourishing and multiplying of all things in it, and because of the commodious situation thereof, he called it *Constantinopolis*, after his own name. This emperor lived there many prosperous years, in most happy estate; likewise many of his successors did, until such time that Mahomet, the second of that name, and emperor of the Turks, living in a discontented humour to behold the great and glorious dominions of Christians, especially this famous city, that so flourished in his eyes, by momental circumstances, collected his cruel intentions to the full height of ambition, whereby he might abolish the very name of Christianity, and also puffed up with a presumptuous desire to enlarge his empire, went with a marvellous power, both by sea and land, unto this magnificent mansion.

The

The issue whereof was such, that, after divers battaries and assaults, the irreligious infidels broke down the walls, and entered the city; which breach was about forty paces long, as by the new colour, being built up again, is easily known from the old walls; where when they entered, they made a wonderful massacre of poor afflicted Christians, without sparing any of the Roman kind, either male or female. In the merciless fury of these infernal imps, the Emperor Constantine was killed, whose head being cut off, was carried upon the point of a lance through all the city, and camp of the Turks, to the great disgrace and ignominy of Christianity. His Empress, daughters, and other ladies, after they were abused in their bodies, were put to death in a most cruel and terrible manner.

By this overthrow of Constantinople, this Mahomet took twelve kingdoms, and two hundred cities from the Christians, which is a lamentable loss of such an illustrious empire. Thus was that imperial city lost, in the year 1453, May 29th, when it had remained under the government of Christians 1198 years. It is now the chief abode of the great Turk, Sultan Achmet, the fifteen grand Cham, of the line of Ottoman, who was then about twenty-three years of age; whose son Osman since, and after his death, was murdered by the Janizaries, being fourteen years of age, after his return to Constantinople from Podolia in Poland; and in his place his uncle Mustaffa made emperor, whose weakness and unworthiness being soon discovered, he was displaced, and Amurath, Osman's brother, made Grand Signior, who presently reigneth, and not without great fear of his Janizaries and Timariots, who twice in three years have lately made insurrection against him. This Emperor Achmet, who was alive when I was there, was more given to venery, than to war, which gave a greater advantage to the Persians in their defensive wars.

Concerning the empire we may observe some fatal contrarieties

contrarities in one and the same name : For Philip, the father of Alexander, laid the first foundation of the Macedonian monarchy, and Philip, the father of Perseus, ruined it. So was this town built by a Constantine the son of Helena, a Gregory being patriarch ; and was lost by a Constantine the son of Helena, a Gregory being also patriarch. The Turks have a prophecy, that as it was won by a Mahomet, so it shall be lost by a Mahomet.

The form or situation of this city is like unto a triangle, the south part whereof, and the east part, are environed with Hellespontus, and Bosphorus Thracius ; and the north part adjoining to the firm land. It is in compass about the walls esteemed to be eighteen miles : In one of these triangled points, being the south-east part, and at the joining of Bosphore and Hellespont, standeth the palace of the great Turk, called *Seraglio*, and the forest wherein he hunteth, which is two miles in length.

The special object of antiquity I saw within this city, was the incomparable church of St Sophia, whose ornaments and hallowed vessels were innumerable, in the time of Justinian the emperor, who first builded it ; but now converted to a Mosque, and consecrate to Mahomet, after a diabolical manner *.]

I saw also the famous Hippodrome, and the theatre whereon the people stood, when the emperors used to run their horses, and make their princely shews on solemn days, which is now altogether decayed. There is a great column in that same place, in which all the memorable things which have been done in this Hippodrome are superficially carved †.

Upon

* The dome of St Sophia is said to be one hundred and thirteen feet diameter, built upon arches sustained by vast pillars of marble ; the pavement and stair-case marble. There are two rows of galleries supported with pillars of parti-coloured marble, and the whole roof Mosaic work.—Lady Mary Wortley Montague's letters.

† This was the Hippodrome in the reign of the Greek emperors.

Upon the west corner of the city, there is a strong fortress, fortified with seven great towers, and well furnished with ammunition, called by Turks *Iadileke*. In this prison are bathaws and sub-bathaws imprisoned, and also great men of Christians, if any offence committed. Their place of exchange is called *Bezaf-tan*, wherein all sorts of commodities are to be sold; as sattins, silks, velvets, cloth of silver and gold, and the most exquisitely wrought handkerchiefs that can be found in the world; with infinite other commodities, the relation of which would be tedious.

I have seen men and women as usually sold here in markets, as horses and other beasts are with us; the most part of which are Hungarians, Transylvanians, Carindians, Istrians, and Dalmatian captives, and of other places besides, which they can overcome; whom, if no compassionate Christian will buy or relieve, then must they either turn Turk, or be addicted to perpetual slavery. Here I remember of a charitable deed, done for a sinful end, and thus it was. A ship of Marseilles, called the great *Dolphin*, lying here forty days at the Galata, the master gun-
A French ner, named *Monsieur Nerack*, and I
palliard. falling in familiar acquaintance, upon a
time he told me secretly, that he would
gladly, for conscience and merit's sake, redeem some
poor Christian slave from Turkish captivity. To the
which, I applauded his advice, and told him the next
Friday following, I would assist him to so worthy an
action. Friday comes, and he and I went to Constan-

In the midst of it is a brazen column of three serpents, twisted together with their mouths gaping. It is impossible to learn, why so odd a pillar was erected; the Greeks can tell nothing but fabulous legends, when they are asked the meaning of it, and there is no sign of its having ever had any inscription. At the upper end is an obelisk of porphyry, probably brought from Egypt, the hieroglyphics all very entire, which I look upon as mere ancient puns. It is placed on four little brazen pillars, upon a pedestal of square free-stone, full of figures in bass-relief; on two sides, one square representing a battle, another an assembly; the others have inscriptions in Greek and Latin.—Lady Mary Wortley Montague's letters.

tinople,

tinople, where the market of the slaves being ready, we spent two hours in viewing and reviewing five hundred males and females. At last I appointed him to have bought an old man or woman, but his mind was contrary set, shewing me, that he would buy some virgin or young widow, to save their bodies undeflowered with infidels. The price of a virgin was too dear for him, being an hundred duckets, and widows were far under, and at an easier rate. When we did visit and search them that we were mindful to buy, they were stripped stark naked before our eyes, where the sweetest face, the youngest age, and whitest skin was in greatest value and request. The Jews sold them, for they had bought them from the Turks. At last we fell upon a Dalmatian widow, whose pitiful looks, and shrinkling tears, struck my soul almost to death for compassion; whereupon I grew earnest for her relief, and he yielding to my advice, she is bought and delivered unto him, the man being sixty years of age, and her price thirty-six duckets. We leave the market, [and come over again to Galata, where he and I took a chamber for her, and leaving them there, the next morning I returned early, suspecting greatly the dissembling devotion of the gunner to be nought but luxurious lust, and so it proved. I knocked at the chamber-door that he had newly locked, and taken the key with him to the ship, for he had tarried with her all that night; and she answering me with tears, told me all the manner of his usage, wishing herself to be again in her former captivity; whereupon I went a ship-board to him, and in my grief I swore, That if he abused her any more after that manner, and not returned to her distress her Christian liberty, I would first make it known to his master, the captain of the ship, and then to the French ambassador; for he was mindful also, his lust being satisfied, to have sold her over again to some other. At which threatening, the old palliard became so fearful, that he entered into a reasonable condition with me, and the ship departing thence six days after, he

The Dalmatian widow re-relieved.

freely resigned to me her life, her liberty, and freedom ; which being done, and he gone, under my hand, before divers Greeks, I subscribed her liberty, and hired her in the same tavern for a year, taking nothing from her ; for as little had she to give me, except many blessings and thankful prayers. This French gunner was a papist, and here you may behold the dregs of his devotion, and what seven nights lechery cost him ; you may cast up the reckoning of thirty-six ducats.

In Constantinople there have happened many fearful fires, which often have consumed to ashes the most part of the rarest monuments there, and the beauty of infinite palaces ; as Zonaras the Constantinopolitan historiographer, in his histories mentioneth. And now lately, in the year 1607, October 14. there were burnt above three thousand houses, of which I saw a number

Pestilence and earthquakes. of ruins (as yet) unrepaired. It is subject also to divers earthquakes, which have often subverted the towers, houses, churches, and walls of the city, to the

ground. Especially in the year 1509, in the reign of Bajazeth, the ninth emperor of the Turks, in which time, more than thirteen thousand persons were all smothered and dead, and laid up in heaps unburied. And commonly every third year, their pestilence is exceeding great in that city, and after such an odious manner, that those who are infected (before they die) have the half of their one side rotten, and fall away ; so that you may easily discern the whole intrails of their bowels. It is not permitted here, nor elsewhere in all Turkey, that any Christian should enter into their mosques, or churches, without the conduct of a Janizary ; the trial whereof I had, when I viewed that glorious and great church of Sancta Sophia, once the beauty and ornament of all Europe, and is now the chief place to which the great Turk or Emperor goeth every Friday, their sabbath-day, to do his devotion, being accompanied with three thousand Janizaries, besides Bashaws, Chowfes, and Hagars. Truly, I may say of Constantinople,

Constantinople, as I said once of the world, in the Lamentado of my second pilgrimage ;

A painted whore, the mask of deadly sin,
Sweet fair without, and stinking foul within.

For indeed outwardly it hath the fairest show ; and inwardly, the streets being narrow, and most part covered, the filthiest and most deformed buildings in the world. The reason of its beauty is, because being situate on moderate prospective heights, the universal tectures afar off yield a delectable show, the covertures being erected like the back of a coach after the Italian fashion, with guttered tile. But being entered within, there is nothing but a stinking deformity, and a loathsome contrived place ; without either internal domestic furniture, or the external decorations of fabricks extended like a palace. Notwithstanding that, for its situation, the delicious wines and temperate climate, the fertile circumjacent fields, the Hellespont sea, and pleasant Asia on the other side ; it may truly be called the paradise of the earth.

Perah is over-against Constantinople, called of old *Cornubizantii*, but by the Turks *Galata*, being both a quarter of a mile distant, and the Thracian Bosphore dividing the two. It is the place at which Christian ships touch, and where the ambassadors of Christendom lie. The number of the Christian ambassadors that then lay there, and now do, were these ; first the Roman Emperor's, then the French, thirdly the English, fourthly the Venetian, and lastly the Dutch ambassadors, with whom often I was familiar in discourse, although with Noble Sir Thomas Glover I was still domestic for twelve weeks, whose secretary for that time was my countryman, Mr James Rollock, who now, as I take it, is residing in Stirling. He was the last Scotsman I saw till my return to Malta, after my departure from Constantinople.

*The Christian
ambassadors
of Perah.*

From thence I went to the Black sea, commonly called *Mare Euxinum*, where I saw Pompey's pillar of marble, standing near the shore, upon a rocky island*; and not far from thence is a lanthorn higher than any steeple, whereon there is a pan full of liquor that burneth every night to give warning unto ships how near they come to the shore. It is not much unlike these lanthorns of Leghorn and Genoa. The water of this sea is no blacker than that of other seas; but it is called black, in respect of the dangerous accidents which happen there in dark and tempestuous nights, and because of the rocks and sands which lie at a great distance from the main shore, upon which great numbers of vessels are often cast away. The Black sea is not far from Galata; for I both went and returned in one day, being forty miles out and in: for I went by boat, and not by land, through the pleasant eurypus that runneth between the Euxine sea and Hellespont. And by the way I cannot but regret the great loss Sir Thomas Glover received by the Duke of Moldavia, who chargeably entertained him two years in his house, and furnished him with money, and other necessaries fit for his eminency. This Duke or Prince of Bugdonia was deprived of his principalities by Achmet, and fled hither to the Christian ambassadors for relief. To whom, when all the rest had refused acceptance, only Noble Sir Thomas received him, maintained him, and seriously wrought with the Grand Signior and his council to have had him restored again to his lands; but could not prevail.

In the end, Sir Thomas Glover's five years time of ambassadry being expired, and the Duke hearing privately that Sir Paul Pinder was to come in his place, as indeed he came too soon, this Moldavian prince stole

* Pompey's pillar, still standing on a high hill, two hundred paces from Alexandria in Lower Egypt, a province of Africa. It is one entire stone, one hundred and twenty-five feet high, and of the Corinthian order. — Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

early away in the morning over to Constantinople, and long before mid-day turned Turk, and was circumcised, contenting himself only, for all his great dukedom, with a palace, and a yearly pension of twelve thousand zechins of gold, during his life. Which, when we heard, the ambassador and we were all amazed and discontented. He was indebted to the ambassador above fifteen thousand zechins of gold; yet before my leaving Galata, I went twice over with Sir Thomas, and saw him, and found him attended with a number of Turks; who, when he saw me, took me kindly by the hand; for we had been two months familiar in the ambassador's house before.

*The Duke of
Moldavia
turned Turk.*

The English ambassador, within half a year, recovered the half of his money, the other half he was forced to dispense with, for divers important reasons. Nay, I must say one thing more of this knight: He relieved more slaves from the galleys, paid their ransoms, and sent them home freely to their Christian stations, and kept a better house, than any ambassador did that ever lay at Constantinople, or ever shall to the world's end.

His mother was a Polonian, who coming from Dantzick to London, was delivered of him upon the sea. Afterward he was brought up at Constantinople from a boy, and spoke and wrote the Sclavonian tongue perfectly. And thence returning for London, he was the first ambassador King James, of blessed memory, sent to Constantinople, after his coming to the crown of England. And thus much for this worthy and ever-renowned knight, whose praise and fame I cannot too much celebrate.

The Turks have no bells in their churches, neither the use of a clock, nor numbering of hours; but they have high round steeples; for they contradict all forms of Christians. When they go to pray, they are called together by the voice of crying men; who, going upon the bartizings of their steeples, shouting and crying

with a shrill voice, *La illa, Eillalla, Mahomet Rezul allah*; that is, "God is a great God, and Mahomet is his prophet;" or otherwise, "There is but one God."

In Constantinople, and all other places of Turkey, I ever saw three sabbaths together in one week; the Friday for the Turks, the Saturday for Jews, and the Sunday for Christians. But the Turks sabbath is worst kept of all; for they will not spare to do any labour

on their holiday. They have meetings at their public prayers, every day five several times: the first is, before the rising of the sun; the second is, a little before mid-day; the third is, at three of

the clock in the afternoon; the fourth is, at the sun-setting, summer and winter; fifthly, the last hour of prayer is always two or three hours within night. Many of them will watch for that time, and not sleep; and others sleeping, will awake at the voice of the cryer, and go to church.

In sign of reverence, and in a superstitious devotion, before they go into their Mosques, they wash themselves in a Lavatoio, beginning at the privy members, next their mouths, faces, feet, and hands; and entering, they incline their heads downward to the earth; and falling on their knees, do kiss the ground three times. Then the Talasumany, which is the chief priest, mounteth upon a high stone, where he maketh many orations to Mahomet; and the rest, to assist him, continue a long time shaking their heads, as though they were out of all their natural understanding, repeating of this word *Haylamo, Haylamo*; and after that will sigh grievously, saying, *Houpek*; and sometimes will abruptly sing the psalms of David in the Arabic tongue, but to no sense nor verity of the scriptures. And at their devotion, they will not tolerate any woman in their company, lest they should withdraw their minds and affections from their present zeal. But the men observe their turns and times, and the women theirs, going always when they go, either of them alone to their devotion. The like custom, but not after the same

same manner, have I seen observed among the Protestants in Transilvania, Hungaria, Moravia, Bohemia, and Silesia, who, when they come to church on the sabbath-day, there is a taffaty curtain drawn from the pulpit to the church-wall over against it; the men sitting on the right hand of the preacher, the women on the left, whose eyes and faces cannot see other during divine service, save only the minister, that overtoppeth both sides; and truly I thought it was a very modest and necessary observation. The Turks are generally circumcised after the manner of the Jews, but not after eight days, but after eight years. The churchmen are called *Hadach Carseis*, or *Dervises*, who wear on their heads green sashes, to make distinction between them and others; for they are accounted to be of Mahomet's kindred.

The Turks are circumcised.

They hold all madmen in great reverence, as prophets or saints; and if they intend any far journey, private purposes, or otherwise, before they go to battle, they come to crave counsel of the Santones, to know if they shall prosper, or not, in their attempts. And whatsoever answer these bedlam-prophets give, it is holden to be as credible as if an oracle had spoken it. The Turkish priests are for the most part Moors, whom they account to be a base people, in respect of themselves, calling them *Totseks*. Their principal church-governor is called *Mufti*, whose definitive sentence in law or religion is fixed, and absolutely irrevokable. Neither abaseth he himself to sit in the Divano, nor affordeth more reverence to the Emperor than he to him. The other sort of churchmen are the *Naipi*, or young doctors, the *Caddi*, whereof there are two or three in every city to judge the offences; the *Calfi*, or readers; and the *Mudreff*, which use to oversee the *Cadeis* in their office. They were all formerly idolatrous Pagans, and were fast initiated in Mahometanism, when they got the sovereignty of the Persian sceptre, by the great battle, and fortunate

The Turkish churchmen.

fortunate conduct of Tangrolipix, in overthrowing Mahomet, a Saracenic sultan of Persia, who enthroned himself in the Persian chair of state *anno* 1030. This prerogative title of *Mufti* was first intitled *Caliph*, whose residence was in Babylon, and wholly supreme over the Mahometans. But the Egyptians, after the death of Mot adi Bila, withdrew themselves from this Babylonian obedience, and chused one of their own, to whom the Moors of Barbary submitted themselves.

But now since Bagdat, or Babylon, hath been recovered by the Persians, about four years ago, their Mahometan Mufti, or Caliph, that then was resident there, is now retired to Constantinople, where he sitteth in a more secure place, thinking rather to follow the grandeur of the Turk, than the broken estate of the Persian, whence I may truly say, he is Fortune's page, that favoureth them most who have most favourers.

This unwieldy body, having two heads, began to decline; for Allan, a Tartarian captain, starved Mustatzen, the last divided Babylonian Caliph to death, and rooted out all his posterity. And then Sarancon, the first Turkish king in Egypt, brained the last Egyptian Caliph with his mace, leaving none of the issue, or kindred, surviving. The office of the Caliph is now executed in Turkey, under the name of *Mufti*, or high priest. All Turks do detest the colour of black, and think those that wear it shall never enter into paradise. But the colour of greatest request among them is green; wherewith if any Christian be apparelled, he should be sure of bastinadoes, and other punishments. Neither may he use the name of their prophet Mahomet in his mouth, (under the pain of cruel censure to be inflicted upon him), whom they so much adore and honour.

This Mahomet was born *anno Domini* 591, in Itrari-
pia,

pia, a beggarly village in Arabia, whose father was Abdillas, an Ishmaelite, and his mother Cadiges, a Jew, both different in religion, and also of divers countries. In his youth he was partly taught the Judaical law, and partly the superstition of the Gentiles. Many alledge his parentage was never known (being so base) until his riper years betrayed the same. I also learned, that his parents died whilst he was a young child, and was turned over to his uncle, who afterward sold him to one Abdeminoples, a merchant in Palestina; and he, after a little time, having remarked his ready and prompt wit, sent him down to Egypt, to be a factor in his merchandise; where, by his dissimulate behaviour, he crept in favour with Christians, Jews, and Gentiles. He was in proportion of a mean stature, lively faced, big headed, eloquent in language, of a sanguine complexion, and a courageous disposition, in all attempts exceeding desperate. He was also deceitful, variable, and fraudulent; as may appear in his satanical fables, expressed in his Alcoran, where oft one saying contradicteth another, both in words and effect.

*Mahomet's
birth.*

About this time there was one Sergius, an Italian born, banished from Constantinople because he allowed of the Arian sect; who afterward having come to Palestina, and frequented the house of Abdeminoples, fell in acquaintance with the young man Mahomet; and this friar, perceiving the aspiring quickness of his brain, bore a great affection to his natural perfections. Shortly after this, his master dying without heirs, and his mistress enjoying many rich possessions, she, for these his extraordinary qualities, from the degree of a servant, advanced him to be her own husband.

That unhappy match was no sooner done, but she repented it with tears; for he being subject to the falling-sickness, would often fall flat on the ground before her, staring, gaping, and foaming at the mouth; so that his company became loathsome and detestable. The which begun contempt in his bed-

*Mahomet pos-
sed with the
falling sick-
ness.*

fellow :

fellow : Being to him manifested, he strove (under the shadow of invented lies) to mitigate the fury of her hateful disdain, feigning, and attesting, that when he fell to the ground, it was the great God spoke with him, before whose face (saith he) I am not able to stand : such is the soliciting of me, with words of terror and majesty, to reform the ways of the degenerate people with fire and sword, since Moses and Christ (notwithstanding of their miracles) have been rejected by the world. The old Trot, believing all these flattering speeches, was not only appeased of her former conceit, but also loving him more than a husband, revered him for a divine prophet, imparting the same unto her neighbours and gossips. After they had lived two years together, the bewitched matron dying, left all her possessions to Mahomet ; both because she accounted him to be a prophet, and next, for that loving regard she had of his tender body, being but thirty years of age. He being thus left with great riches, was puffed up in pride and haughty desires, striving, by all inordinate means, to bring his new devised plots to perfection. For the better performance whereof, he consulted with this Sergius, a Nestorian monk, and Atodala, another Thalmudist, a diverted Jew. Hereupon these two hell-hounds, and the other perverse runagate, patched up a most monstrous and devilish religion to themselves, and to their miscreant believers ; partly composed of the Judaical law, partly of Arianism, partly intermixed with some points of Christianity, and partly of other fantastical fopperies, which his own invention suggested unto him.

The book of this religion is named the *Alcoran*; the whole body of which, is but an exposition and gloss on the eight commandments he affixed ;

The law of Mahomet. whereupon dependeth the whole Mahometan law. “ First, Every one ought to believe, that God is a great God, and only God, and Mahomet is his prophet. Secondly, Every man must marry to increase the sectaries of Mahomet. Thirdly, Every one must give of his wealth to the

the poor. Fourthly, Every one must make his prayers seven times a day. Fifthly, Every one must keep a lent one month in the year; (this lent is called *Birham*, or *Ramazan*). Sixthly, Be obedient to thy parents; (which law is so neglected, that never any children were, or are, more unnatural than the Turkish be.) Seventhly, Thou shalt not kill; (which they inviolably keep among themselves, but the poor Christians feel the smart thereof). Lastly, and eighthly, Do unto others, as thou wouldst be done unto thyself." The performers of which have large sophistical promises ascribed them *.

This new coined doctrine was no sooner wrapped up in his execrable Alcoran, but he began to spit forth

* The rites, doctrines, and laws, of the Turkish religion, are founded in three books, which may not improperly be called the *codes* and *pandects* of the Mahometan constitutions.

The first is the Alcoran; the second the consent or testimony of wise men, called the *Ajfonah*, or the *traditions of the prophets*; and the third the inferences or deductions of one thing from another. Mahomet wrote the Alcoran, and prescribed some laws for the civil government: the other additions, or superstructures, were composed by their doctors that succeeded; which were, Ebbubech, Omar, Ozman, and Haly. The Caliphs of Babylon and Egypt, were other doctors and expositors of their laws, whose sentences and positions were of divine authority among them; but their esteem of being oracularous failing with their temporal power, that dignity and authority, of infallible determination, was, by force of the sword, transferred to the Turkish Mufti. And though there is great diversity amongst the doctors, as touching the explication of their law, yet he is esteemed a true believer who observes these five articles or fundamentals of the law, to which every true Turk is obliged. The first is cleanness in the outward parts of their body and garments; secondly, to make prayers five times a day; thirdly, to observe the Ramazan, or monthly fast; fourthly, to perform faithfully Zekat, or giving of alms, according to the proportion prescribed in a certain book, wrote by the four doctors of theirs, called *Afan*, *Embela*, &c.; fifthly, to make their pilgrimage to Mecca, if they have means and possibility to perform it: but the article of faith required to be believed is but one, viz. That there is but one God, and Mahomet his prophet. Other rites, as circumcision, observation of Friday for a day of devotion, abstinence from swines flesh, and from blood, are not reckoned (as they say) amongst the five principal points, because they are enjoined as trials and proofs of a man's obedience to the more necessary law.—*Rycaut's History of the Turks.*

his

his abominable and blasphemous heresies; affirming, that Christ was not the Son of the Most High, nor the Messiah looked for; denying also the Trinity; with many other profane blasphemies. The work concluded, for the better advancement of his purpose, he married the daughter of the chief prince of his own tribe: By which new affinity, he not only seduced his father-in-law, but also the whole lineage of that family: by whose acceptance and conversion, he confederated with other associates, and waxed daily stronger. Contending continually to divulge his name more and more, he assembled his new Alcoranists; exhorting them to assist him in the besieging of Mecca, which citizens had in derision rebuked his law, and absolutely disdained his Mahometan illusions: and promised to them, in such a well-deserving attempt, both eternal felicity, and the spoils of these his contradictors; persuasively assuring them, that God would deliver all the gainstayers of his Alcoran into his hands. By which allurements they being moved, rose to the number of 3000 in arms, and menaced Mecca; but the citizens put him to flight, and so was he thrice served, till in the end

Mahomet's tomb. he won their city; wherein after his death he was intombed in an iron coffin, which, between two adamants, hangeth to this day, (as I have been informed of sundry Turks, who saw it); which confirmed in them a solid belief of his erroneous doctrine.

But now of late, the Turks growing more circumspect than they were, and understanding the derision of Christians concerning their hanging tomb, and because the Turkish pilgrims were often suffocate to death, with a fabulous desert in going to Mecca, they have transported Mahomet's tomb now to Medina; which is a great deal nearer to Damascus, and at the entry of Arabia Felix, in a glorious mosque, where the tomb being close ground set, and richly covered with a golden canopy: they have prohibited any Christian to come near it by two courses, to wit, twenty-four miles, under the pain of death; which indeed they keep more strictly

strictly in execution, than princely proclamations are obeyed, observed, or regarded with us, either for regal statutes, or general benefits of commonwealth; their continuance being but like the miracle of nine days wonder; return again from whence they came, frustrate of power, and robbed of obedience. From this time that he vanquished Mecca, casting out the Greek officers, (for then all Arabia was under the Constantinopolitan empire), the Saracens began their computation of years, (as we from Christ's nativity), which they call *Hegira*, and begun about the year of our redemption six hundred and seventeen. Concerning which time that Mahomet compiled his devilish Alcoran, beginning his empire nigh about the same time, it is observed, that Boniface III. began his empire, and Antichristian title; for Phocas having killed the Emperor Mauritius his wife and children, to secure himself of Italy, ready to revolt from such a tyrant, made Boniface universal bishop and head of the church.

This Boniface was the sixty-fourth Bishop, and first Pope of Rome; which *The first title of Pope.* was immediately thereafter confirmed by Pippin the French King, who also had murdered his master and prince; and lastly was ratified by Paleologus, whose son Constantine, about fourteen years after, had his head struck off, his wife and daughters put to cruel death, his empire quite subverted, in the loss of twelve kingdoms and two hundred cities, being the just judgements of God upon the son, for the father's sake, who assigned such an ambitious charge unto that perverse papality. After which predominant titles and falsified power, what long controversies and disputes were between the Pope and the councils of Carthage, Chalcedon, Ephesus, Alexandria, and Nice? This papal prerogative began with blood and murder, continueth in blood and massacres, and, doubtless, in the end shall perish, and be confounded with blood and abominable destruction.

And what great debate was of old by the Roman emperors, in abolishing out of their churches the images

ges and idols of stone, iron, and timber, &c. that for many hundred years they were not suffered to be seen? And at the beginning of the papality, and a long time after, the emperors prohibited them, *Romish idolatry.* and divers Popes have confirmed, and approved the same; yet succeeding

Popes, and the empire, being divided in east and west, introduced again the dregs of their old Heathenish and Roman idolatry; and yet they will not be content with the bare name of images, but they impose a surname, or epithet of sanctity, terming them *holy images*. Truly I may say, if it were not for these images, and superstitious idolatries, they assign to them, the Turks had long ago been converted to the Christian faith.

I have seen sometimes two thousand Turks travelling to Mecca in pilgrimage, which is in *Turkish pilgrims.* Arabia Felix; where many, in a superstitious devotion, having seen the tomb of Mahomet, are never desirous to see the vanities of the world again; for, in a frantic piety, they cause a smith to pull forth their eyes: and these men are called afterward *Hoggeis*, that is, *holy men*, whom the Turks much honour and regard; and are always led about from town to town by mens hands, and fed and regarded like unto princes, or like the capuchins that scourge themselves on Good-Friday, are met, and homaged at every passing street, with prayers, gifts, and adorations.

Some write, that Mahomet, in his youth, was a soldier, under the conduct of Heraclius; who, employing certain Arabians in an expedition to Persia, not only denied them their wages, but told them, that that was not to be given to dogs which was provided for the Roman foldiers. Hence some mutinies arising in the army, he, with certain Arabians, his countrymen, by faction, separated themselves, and revolted: whereupon Mahomet, encouraging them in their defection, was chosen their captain; and so for a certain time they continued rebellious runagates, thieves, and robbers

bers of all people. The subtilty of this dissembler was admirable, who knowing that he was destitute of heavenly gifts to work miracles, feigned that

Mahomet hath broke his promise.

God sent him with the sword. He also promised, at the end of a thousand years, to return, and bring them to paradise; but he hath falsified his promise, for the time is expired forty years ago. And they imagining, that he is either diseased, or become lame in his journey, have ascribed to him another thousand years to come. But long may their wicked and faithless generation gape before he come, until such time, that, in a general convocation, they be partakers of his endless damnation in hell; unless it please the Lord, in his mercy, to convert them before that time.

Mahomet chiefly prohibiteth in his Alcoran the eating of swines flesh, and drinking of wine; which indeed the best sort do, but the baser kind are daily drunkards. Their common drink is sherpet, composed of water, honey, and sugar, which is exceeding pleasant to the taste. And the usual courtesy they bestow on their friends who visit them, is a cup of coffa, made of a kind of seed called *coava*, and of a blackish colour, which they drink as hot as possibly they can, and is good to expel the crudity of raw meats, and herbs, so much by them frequented. And those that cannot attain to this liquor, must be contented with the cooling streams of water.

It is incident to Turks, who have not the generosity of mind to temper felicity, to be gluttoned with the superfluous fruits of doubtful prosperity.

Neither have they a patient resolution to withstand adversity, nor hope to expect the better alteration of time. But by

Oppression of Turks.

an infused malice in their wicked spirits, when they are any way distressed, will, with importunate compulsion, cause the poor slavish subjected Christians surrender all they have, the half, or so, sometimes with strokes, menacings, and sometimes death itself; which plainly

doth demonstrate their excessive cruelty, and the poor Christians inevitable misery. And yet being complain'd upon, they are severely punished, or else put to death, for committing of such unallowable riots, being expressly against the imperial law of the Turks, concerning the quietness and liberty of the Christians.

I have often heard Turks brawl one with another, most vilely, but I never saw, nor heard, that they, either in private or public quarrels, durst strike one another; neither dare they, for fear of severe punishment imposed on such quarrellers: but they will injure and strike Christians, who dare not say it is amiss, or strike again. It is a common thing with them to kill their servants for a very small offence; and when they have done, throw them like dogs in a ditch. And oftentimes, if not so, will lay them down on their backs, hoisting up their heels, bind their feet together, and fasten them to a post, and with a cudgel give them three or four hundred blows on the soles of their feet; whereupon, peradventure, some ever go lame after. Their servants are bought and sold like brute beasts in markets; neither can these miserable drudges ever recover liberty, except they buy themselves free, either by one means or other. Their wives are not far from the like servitude; for the men, by the Alcoran, are admitted to marry as many women as they will, or their ability can keep. And if it shall happen, that any one of these women, I mean either wife or concubine, prostituteth herself to another man besides her husband, then may he, by authority, bind her hands and feet, hang a stone about her neck, and cast her into a river, which by them is usually done in the night.

But when these infidels please to abuse poor Christian women against their husband's will, they little regard the transgression of the Christian law; who as well deflower their daughters as their wives; yet the devout Mahometans never meddle with them, accounting themselves damned to copulate, as they think, with the offspring of dogs. The Turks generally, when they commit any copulation with Christians, or their own
sex,

sex, they wash themselves in a south running fountain, before the sun-rising, thinking thereby to wash away their sins.

If a Turk should happen to kill another Turk, his punishment is thus : After he is adjudged to death, he is brought forth to the market-place ; and a block being brought hither of four feet high, the malefactor is stripped naked, and then laid thereupon with his belly downward : they draw in his middle together so small with running cords, that they strike his body in two with one blow ; his hinder parts they cast to be eaten by hungry dogs kept for the same purpose ; and the fore-quarter and head, they throw into a grievous fire, made there for the same end. And this is the punishment for man-slaughter.

*The Turks
justice.*

But for murder, or treason, he is more cruelly used ; for, convicted and condemned, he is brought forth before the people, where, in the street, there is an exceeding high stripad erected, much like to a May-pole ; which tree from the root, till it almost come to the top, is all set about full of long sharp iron pikes, and their points upward. The villain being stripped naked, and his hands bound backward, they bind a strong rope about his shoulders and cleaving ; and then hoisting him up to the pillow, or top of the tree, they let the rope flee loose ; whence down he falls with a rattle among the iron-pikes, hanging either by the buttocks, by the breasts, by the sides, or shoulders ; and there sticking fast in the air, he hangeth till his very bones rot and fall down, and his body be devoured, being quick, with ravenous eagles, kept to prey upon his carcass for the same purpose.

But now I come to their nuptial rites. Their custom and manner of marriage is this : If a man affecteth a young maid, he buyeth her of her parents, and giveth a good sum of money for her ; and after she is bought, he inrolls her name in the Cadies book, witnessing she is his bound wife, bought of her father.

Turkish marriages.

Lo, this is all the form of their marriage. This being done, the father of the woman sendeth household-stuff home with the bride, which is carried through the streets on mulets or camels backs; the two new married folks marching before, are conveyed with music, their own acquaintance and friends unto his house.

The Turks, in general, whenever they loath or dislike their wives, use to sell them in markets, or otherwise bestow them on their men-slaves: And although their affection were never so great towards them, yet they never eat together; for commonly the women stand and serve their husbands at meat, and after that, they eat apart by themselves secretly, without admitting any man in their company, if they be above fourteen years of age. They go seldom abroad, unless it be each Thursday at night, when they go to the grave to mourn for the dead, always covering their faces very modestly, with white or black masks, which are never uncovered, till they return to their houses. Many other ceremonies they have, which would be too prolix for me to recite. And notwithstanding of all this external gravity among these hirelings, yet there are in Constantinople above forty thousand brothel-houses, Turkqueski as libertines; in any of which, if a Christian (especially Franks) be apprehended, he must either turn Turk or slave all his life. But the women, by policy, apply a counter-poison to this security; for they accustomably come to the chambers of their benefactors and well-willers, or other places appointed secretly, where so they learn either a French Syncopa, or an Italian Bergamasko.

As for the Great Turk's concubines, *The Emperor's concubines.* they are of number eight hundred, being of the most part Emerces, Bashaws, and Timariot's daughters. The third and inmost part of the seraglio is allotted for their residence, being well attended at all times with numbers of eunuchs, and other gelded officers. Every morning they are ranked in a great hall, and set on high and open seats; where, when he cometh, and selecting the youngest

youngest and fairest, he toucheth her with a rod ; and immediately she followeth him into his cabin of lechery, where, if any action be done, she receiveth from the head clerk her approbation thereupon ; which ever afterwards serveth her for a conditional dowry to her marriage, with much honour and reputation besides. And if any of them conceive, and the child born, it is suddenly dispatched from this life. The oldest hundred, every first Friday of the month, are turned out, and another new hundred come in to make up the number. Their entry and issue is always at one of the postern gates of the park towards the sea-side, and joining nigh to their palace : whence crossing Bosphore, in an appointed barge, they both go and come in one day, from and to the Galata, which I myself did see three several times. The oldest and last hundred that are every month dismissed, they depart from the Galata home to their parents and several countries, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to be chosen, and entertained to be their emperor's concubines. The custom of the great Turk is, every Friday, being their Sabbath day, after divine service and dinner, to run at the glove, in an open place, before all the people, with some Hagars, or young striplings, that accompany him ; who have the glove hanging as high on a stick, as we have the ring with us. And truly, of all the Turkish emperors that ever were, this Achmet was the most gentle and favourable to Christians, who rather, for his bounty and tendernefs, might have been intitled the Christian Emperor, than the Pagan King ; for he disannulled all the exactions that had been inflicted by his predecessors upon his tributary Christian subjects, and cancelled the custom or tythe of their male children, abrogating also that imposition on their female dowries.

*A hundred
concubines
changed e-
very month.*

The lent of the Turks is called *Byrham*, which continueth the space of a month once in the year. In all which time, from the sun-rising to his setting, they neither eat nor drink : And at their prayers, especially

in this fasting, they use often to reiterate these words, *Hue, hue, hue*; that is, "He, he, he, alone is God;" or, "There is but one only supreme power;" which they do in derision of Christians, who (as they say) adore three gods. They have also this sinister opinion, that at the day of judgement, when Mahomet shall appear, there shall be three displayed banners, under the which all good people

*The Turks
paradise.*

shall be conducted to paradise: The one of Moses, under the which the children of Israel shall be: The second of Jesus, under which Christians shall be: The third of Mahomet, under the which shall be the Arabs, Turks, and Mussulmen. All which, they think, shall be elevated to several honours; and they in promotion shall be discerned from the rest, by chambers made of resplendent light, which God will give them; wherein they shall have banquetings, feastings, dancing, and the best melody that can be devised; and that they shall spend their time with amorous virgins, (whose mansion shall be near by), the men never exceeding the age of thirty years, and the virgins fifteen: and both shall have their virginities renewed as fast as lost.

They hold also this, as a confident article of their belief, there are seven paradises in heaven, the pavements whereof are laid with gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, and garnished with stately buildings, and pleasant gardens, wherein are all sorts of fruit, and princely palaces; through which run rivers of milk, honey, and wine.

The first paradise they call it *Genete Alcholde*; the second *Alfirduzzy*; the third *Anthinack*; the fourth *Reduasth*; the fifth *Azelem*; the sixth *Alcodush*; that is, holy; and the seventh *Almega*, that is, the greatest: and that in the midst of this last paradise, there is a stately tree, called *Tubah*, the leaf of which is partly of gold, and partly of silver; whose boughs extend round about the walls of this seventh paradise, whereon the name of Mahomet is written, near to the name of God, in these words, *Alla, illa, he, allah, Mahomet rezul allah.*

allah. The which words are in such reverence amongst the Turks, that if a Christian should happen, unadvisedly, to repeat them, he is adjudged to a most cruel death, or compelled to renounce his religion.

Their Lent lasteth thirty days, called *Byrham*, some name it also *Ramadan*; during which time they eat nor drink nothing from sun-rising to its setting down; but when night cometh, they gormandize at their self-pleasures. Their month of Lent is our January, where every day, after their several devotions, they go to solemn plays, and all kind of profane pastimes; counting that best devotion, which is most suitable to their dispositions; allotting fancy to follow their folly, and blindness to overtop the ignorance of nature, drawing all their drifts within the circle of destruction. But indeed, as they are blind in the true way of sacred worship, yet they are marked with a wonderful zeal to their devoted blindness, surpassing far, in shew and observations, the general professors of Christianity, and all the ceremonies that can be annexed thereunto; theirs running on with the floods of ignorant affection, and ours distracted with the useless novelties of superfluous school-questions; which indeed do more distemper the truth, than render God to be rightly glorified.

As concerning their opinion of hell, they hold it to be a deep gulf betwixt two mountains; from the mouth whereof are dragons, that continually throw fire, being large eight leagues, and hath a dark entry, where the horrible fiends meet the perplexed finners, conveying them till they come to a bridge, that is as narrow as the edge of a razor; whereupon these that have not committed heinous offences may pass over to hell, but those who have done buggery (as the most part of them do), and homicide, shall fall headlong from it, to the profoundest pit in hell, where they shall sometimes burn in fire, and sometimes be cast into hot boiling waters to be refreshed. And for the great-

*The Turks
Lent.*

*The Turks
opinion.*

er punishment of the wicked, (say they), God hath planted a tree in hell, named *Saiaratafb*, or *Roozo Saytanah*, that is the head of the devil, upon the fruit of which the damned continually feed. Mahomet, in one of the chapters of his Alcoran, calleth this tree, *the tree of malediction*.

They also think the tormented souls may one day be saved, provided they do endure the forched flames of hell patiently. Thus, as briefly as I could, have I laid open the opinions of the Turks concerning their heaven and hell, before the eyes of these, who, peradventure, have never been acquainted with such a ghostly discourse.

And now I think it not amiss to reckon you up in general, all the Roman and Greek emperors, that have been from the beginning to this present time, both in the East and in the West, with the number of the Turkish emperors also; beginning at Julius Cæsar, the first dictator or Roman emperor, to Constantine the

The number of all the emperors in the East and the West.

Great, who transported the seat of the empire from Rome to Constantinople; he was the sixty-fourth emperor: And from Constantine the Great in the East, to the first made emperor in the West, there were thirty-nine emperors; of whom Constantine the sixth, son of Leo the third, with Irena his wife, was the last sole emperor, and she empress, of East and West. After whose death and overthrow, Charlemain was called into Italy to frighten the Lombards, who had oppressed that region, and the peace of the church, for two hundred years: He chased them from Rome, Apulia, and from all Italy, and was therefore declared by Pope Leo, the Roman emperor of the West; from Charlemain, to this present Ferdinando that now reigns, Charlemain being the hundred and fourth, there were forty and one emperors: So in all, with this Emperor Ferdinando, lately Duke of Grasse, the number amounts to, of these emperors, counting from Julius Cæsar to Constantine the Sixth, the last sole emperor of the East, and after

after him, from Charlemain the first emperor of the West, to this time, their number have been an hundred and forty-six emperors.

Some whereof were Greeks, which cannot perfectly be set down, in regard some were empresses, and others suddenly elected, were as suddenly murdered or poisoned.

Now, to reckon the Turkish emperors, I will first begin from the time that the Turks took a monarchic name, under the name of *Ottoman*, even to Mahomet the second, the first Grecian emperor, beginning, I say, at Ottoman the son of Orthogule, the first emperor of the Turks, and the first that erected the glory of his nation. There were nine emperors to Mahomet the second; and from him to this present Amurath that now reigneth, there have been eleven emperors; the number of which are only twenty, and ere they come to thirty, they and theirs, I hope, shall be rooted from the earth.

The original of the Turks, is said to have been in Scythia, from whence they came to Arabia Petrea; and giving battle oft to the Saracens, in the end they subdued them, and so they multiplied, and mightily increased: The appearance of their further increasing is very evident, except God, of his mercy towards us, prevent their blood-sucking threatenings, with the vengeance of his just judgements.

*The beginning
of the Turks.*

The Saracens are descended of Esau, who, after he had lost the blessing, went and inhabited in Arabia Petrea; and his posterity, striving to make a clear distinction between them, the Ishmaelites and Jews called themselves (as come of Sara) *Saracens*; and not of Hagar, the hand-maid of Abraham, of whom came the Ishmaelites, neither of the race of Jacob, of whom came the Jews. But now the Saracens being joined with the Turks, their conquerors have both lost their name, and the right of their descent.

The Turks which are born and bred in the Lesser Asia,

*The Turks
complexion.*

Asia, and east parts of Europe, are generally well complexioned, proportionably compacted, no idle nor superfluous talkers, servile to their Grand Signor, excessively inclined to venery, and zealous in religion; their heads are always shaven, reserving only one tuft in the top above, by which they think one day to be caught to heaven by Mahomet, and covered on all sides, counting it an opprobrious thing for any to uncover his head. They wear their beards long, as a sign of gravity; for they esteem them to be wise men who have long beards. The women are of a low stature, thick and round of growth, going seldom abroad, (unless it be each Thursday at night, when they go to mourn upon the graves of their dead friends), and then they are modestly masked; they are fearful and shame-faced abroad, but lascivious within doors, and pleasing in matters of incontinency; and they are accounted most beautiful who have the blackest brows, the widest mouths and the greatest eyes.

The other Turks which are born in Asia Major, and Egypt, (I speak not of the Moors of Barbary), are of a great stature, tanny, cruel; a barbarous and uncivil people. The better sort use the Slavonian tongue, the vulgar speak the Turkish language, which being originally the Tartarian speech, they borrow from the Persian their words of state, from the Arabic their words of religion, from the Grecians their terms of war, and from the Italian their words and titles of navigation.

The power of the great Turk is admirable, yet the most part of his kingdoms in Asia are not well inhabited, neither populous; but these parts which border with Christians, are strongly fortified with castles, people, and ammunition. If Christian princes could agree, and consult together, it were an easy thing in one year, to subdue the Turks, and root out their very names from the earth: Yea, moreover I am certified, that there are more Christians, even slaves and subjects to the great Turk, which do inhabit his dominions, than
might

might overthrow and conquer these infidels, if they had worthy captains, governors, and furniture of arms, without the help of any Christian in Christendom.

And yet again, I think it not amiss to discourse more particularly of the Turkish manners, of their riches, and of their forces of wars, and the manner of their conducements.

The Turks being naturally descended of the Scythians or Tartars, are of the second stature of man, and robust of nature, circumspect and courageous in all their attempts, and no way given to industry or labour, but are wonderful avaricious and covetous of money above all the nations of the world. They never observe their promises, unless it be with advantage, and are naturally prone to deceive strangers; changing their conditional bargains, as time giveth occasion to their liking! They are humble one to another, but especially to their superiors, before whom they do not only great homage, but also keep great silence, and are wonderful coy during the time of their presence. They are extremely inclined to all sorts of lascivious luxury, and generally addicted, besides all their sensual and incestuous lusts, unto sodomy, which they account as a dainty to digest all their other libidinous pleasures. They hold that every one hath the hour of his death wrote on his fore-brow, and that none can escape the good or evil hour predestinated for them. This ridiculous error makes them so bold and desperate, yea, and often, to run headlong into the most inevitable dangers: They are not much given to domestic pastimes, as chess, cards, dice, and tables; but abroad and in travel, they are exceeding kind disposers of their meat and drink to any stranger without exception. The better sort of their women are sumptuously attired, and adorned with pearls and precious stones, and some of them are accustomed to turn their hands and hair into a red colour, but especially the nails of
their

*The Turks
are Tartarians.*

*Libidinous
Turks.*

their hands and feet ; and are wont to go to bathe themselves in stoves twice a-week, as well as men.

The true Turks wear on their heads white turbants, save a few that are esteemed to be of Mahomet's kindred, and they wear green sashes, being most part of them priests ; the better part of the Turks in Asia, care not for fish ; but these Turks which remain in Europe love fish better than flesh, especially at Constantinople or Stambolda, where the best fishes, and the greatest abundance of them are taken, that be in the world, and that in the Black sea : They are very desirous of taking advantage of their neighbours, which, if they cannot by force, they will, under colour of truce, accomplish it with perfidiousness. And if their enterprises find no happy event, they are never a whit ashamed to take the flight, yet are they generally good soldiers, and well taught in martial discipline. Their armies, in marching, or camping, (notwithstanding infinite multitudes), keep modesty and silence, and are extremely obedient to their captains and commanders. When the Great Signor is abroad with his army at wars, the Turks at home within towns use great prayers and fasting for him and them : They ingeniously describe the victories of their ancestors, and joyfully sing them in rhymes and songs : thinking thereby that fashion, in recalling the valiant deeds of their predecessors, to be the only means to encourage their

Turks are no soldiers to be hardy, resolute, and desperate in all enterprises : They are not
Scholars. given to contemplation, nor study of

letters or arts ; yet they have divers fair schools, where the public lecture of their legal laws are professed, and Mahometanism ; to the intent that children, being elected to be brought up there for the nonce, may be instructed to be profitable expounders of their Alcoran, and judicious judges for the government of the commonwealth. It is seldom, and rarely seen, that a Turk will speak with a woman in the streets ; nay, not so much as
in

in their mosques one to be in fight of another; and yet they are Lords and masters of their wives and concubines, from whom they receive as great respect, service, and honour, as from their bond and bought slaves.

Now, as concerning his riches, the three chief parts of commerce of all kind of merchandise, and that abound most in silver and gold in all the Turks dominions, as well in Asia and Africa as Europe, are these, Constantinople in Thracia of Europe; Aleppo in Syria of Asia major; and Grand Cairo in Egypt of Africk; for these are the three magazines of the whole empire, that draw the whole riches, money, and traffic, to them, of all the Imperial provinces. It is thought, that ordinarily and annually the rent of the Great Turk amounteth to sixteen millions of gold, notwithstanding that some do make it less. But because it is so hard to judge of any monarch's rents, being like the infinite concavities of the earth, sending and receiving so innumerable ways their streams of riches, I will desist from any other instances. And yet the Great Turk's revenues are no way answerable to his great and large dominions. The causes arising hereupon are many; of whom I will select three or four of the chief reasons. First, the Turks being more given to arms, to conquer, to destroy and ruin, and to consume the wealth of the people they overcome, leaving them destitute of nutriment, rather than any way to give course for their increasing and establishing of traffic, out of which should flow the royal advantages. And the reason why they keep their subjects poor, and frustrate themselves of great profits, is only to weaken and enfeeble them, whereby they should not have wherewith to move insurrection or rebellion against them. And, on the other part, the Greeks are as unwilling to be industrious in arts, traffic, or culture; seeing what they possess is not their own, but is taken from them, on all occasions, with tyranny and oppression. For what gains the sower, if another reap the profit?

profit? So, in the Ottoman's estate, there be great forests, and desert countries, proceeding from the scarcity of people to inhabit there, the multitudes being drawn from Asia, to strengthen the frontiers of his dominions in Europe. And besides, there is another reason for the want of people in these parts; to wit, when the great Turk's army is to march to a far country to make wars, then must their vulgar subdued peasants, perhaps twenty or thirty thousands, go along with them to carry their victuals, and all manner of provision, being taken from the plough, and constrained to his servitude, and, notwithstanding, the half of them never return again, partly because of the change of food and air, and partly because of their long travel, and insupportable service, both in heat and cold. And to these of the first reason, there is another plain cause, to wit, that the whole commerce of all commodities in Turkey, is in the hands of Jews and Christians, to wit, Ragusans, Venetians, English, French, and Flemish; who so warily manage their business, that they enjoy the most profits of any trading there, disappointing the Turk's own subjects of their due and ordinary traffic.

The last and principal reason, which
Parcels of is of a great deal more importance than
ground for his revenues, is, the great number of his
Timariots. Timars; for the Turkish Emperors being immediate masters of the lands they overcome, they divide the same in Timars, or commandments, leaving little or nothing at all to the ancient inhabitants; they dispose upon these proportions to valiant soldiers, that have done good service; and with this condition, that they maintain, and have always in readiness, horses for the wars; which is an excellent good order for the preservation of his empire; for if these Timariots were not rewarded with such absolute possessions of parcel-grounds, the estate of his power would suddenly run to ruin; for the profit of which lands, maintaining themselves, their horses, and their families, maketh them the more willing to concur in
the

the infallible service of their Emperor. These Timars, or grounds, entertain, through all his dominions, about two hundred and fifty thousand horses, that are ever in readiness to march at the first advertisement, without any charges to the great Signor, being bound to maintain themselves during the wars. And yet these Timariots, and their horses, cannot yearly be maintained under the value of ten millions of gold; the consideration whereof makes me astonished, when I recal the relations of some authors, who dare compare the great Turk's revenues unto our petty princes of Christendom.

This establishment of Timars, and the by-past election of Azamglians, or young children to be made Janizaries, have been the two strong foundations that supported so inviolably the Turkish empire. The Roman emperors for a long time used the self-same manner for the assuring of their persons and estate, in election of young males to be their guard. They were called the *Prætorian army*; and this taxation of children was the first thing that moved the Flemish to revolt against the Romans.

As for the Turkish cavalry, they sustain two important effects: first, they keep under awe and subjection the great Turk's subjects, who otherwise perhaps would revolt; and, next, they are ordained for any dependent enterprise for field-garrisons; yea, and the principal finews of the wars; and yet the election of the Grand Signor lieth most in the hands of the Janizaries, who cannot perfectly say he is Emperor before they confirm him in his throne.

*Policies of
Turks.*

The Turks have three things in their armies which are very fearful, to wit, the infinite number of men, great discipline, and plenty of ammunition. As for discipline, they are not only governed with great silence, and obedience, but they are ruled also with signs of eye; and being tractable, they are tied to main conduements: and although their multitudes have often bred confusion to them, so that little armies have broke
and

and overcome them; yet in their flight they are so cautious, that a small number can do them no absolute violence, nor final overthrow; for as they assail, so they fly without fear.

The first residence of the Turkish Emperor, after his coming from Egypt, was at Prusa in Bithynia; thence it was transported to Adrianople, and then to Constantinople, where it abideth to this day. Besides,

Beglerbegs all his great bashaws in Europe, which
or bashaws. are eight, one in Buda in Hungary, another in Moldavia, the third in Dacia, the fourth at Bagaviliezza in Bosna, &c.

He hath also in Afric a bashaw in Algiers, another in Tunis, the third in Tripolis, and the fourth in Egypt, &c. And in Asia Major and Minor, to wit, one in Aleppo of Syria, one in Damascus, another in Balsora, the fourth at Mecca in Arabia Felix, the fifth in Carmania, the sixth in Cyprus, the seventh in Rhodes, the eighth at Arzeron in Armenia Major, ninth and tenth at Teflis and Upan, on the frontiers of Gurgestan and Persia, &c. For arsenals he hath four for sea, to wit, one at Perah, or Galata, containing a hundred and thirty-three galleys; the second at Galipoli, of twenty galleys; the third arsenal is at Savezza upon the Red sea, consisting of twenty-five galleys; and the fourth is at Balsora in Arabia Felix, towards the Persian gulf, consisting of fifteen galleys, which are kept there to afflict the Portuguese remaining in the isle of Ormus, and other parts adjacent there.

The Turks have a custom, when they are masters of any province, to exterminate all the native nobility, chiefly these of the blood-royal of the country; and, nevertheless, they permit to all and every one of theirs, to live and follow his own religion as he pleaseth, without violence or constraint.

Amongst the Turks there is no gentry nor nobility, but are all as ignoble and inferior members to one main body, the Great Turks, lineally descending of the house of Ottoman; whose magnificence, puissance, and power, is such, that the most eloquent tongue cannot sufficiently

sufficiently declare. His thousands of Janizaries, Shoufes, and others, daily attending him, which are the nerves and sinews of the warlike body of his whole monarchy and imperial estate; his hundreds (besides his queen) of concubines, hourly maintained by his means, and monthly renewed; his armies, bashaws, emirs, vizier-bashaws, sanzacks, garrisons, and forces, here and there dispersed amongst his dominions, would be impossible for me briefly to relate. The inhuman policy of the Turks, to avoid civil dissention, is such, that the seed of Ottoman (all except one of them) are strangled to death: Wherefore, as Augustus Cæsar said of Herod in the like case, it is better to be the Great Turk's dog than his son. His daughters or sisters are not so used, but are given in marriage to any bashaw whom so they affect; yet with this condition, the King saith to his daughter or sister, "I give thee this man to be thy slave; and if he offend thee in any case, or be disobedient to thy will, here I give thee a dagger to cut off his head;" which always they wear by their sides for the same purpose.

The Persians differ much from the Turks in nobility, humanity, and activity, and especially in points of religion; who, by contention, think each other accursed; and notwithstanding both factions are under the Mahometan law. Neither are the sons of the Persian kings so barbarously handled as theirs; for all the brethren (one excepted) are only made blind, wanting their eyes, and are always afterward gallantly maintained like princes. And it hath oftentimes fallen out, that some of these kings dying without procreate heirs, there have of these blind sons succeeded to the empire, who have restored again the seed of the royal family.

Noble Persians.

And now the great advantage that the Turks have daily over the Persians, is only because of their infantry, which the Persians are no wise accustomed with, fighting always on horseback. Neither are the Persians

L

addicted

addicted or given to build forts, or fortifications. Neither have they any great use of ammunition; but exposing themselves ever to the field in the extreme hazard of battle, become ever doubtful in their victories; whose

Babylon regained by the Persians.

courage and valour cannot be paralleled among all the people of the eastern world; as Babylon, in their late and last fortunes, may give sufficient testimony thereof.

PART

P A R T V.

*Close bounded Hellespont, Earth's mother sport,
 I leave: 'longst the Æolid lists, I Smyrna court:
 Thence Samothrace and Rhodes I accost,
 Which Lilidamus Villiers manly lost:
 The Lycian bounds, and steep Pamphilian shores
 I strictly view: The sea Carpathian roars,
 I land at Cyprus: Seline is the place
 Whence I that kingdom to Nicosia trace:
 From Famagust, fair Asia then I courted,
 And Lebanon, whence cedars were transported
 For Sion's temple: And, my toils to crown,
 I sight great Aleppo, Syria's lady-town.
 Then passing Mesopotame, Chelfane's land,
 I stay at Beersback, on Euphrate's strand.
 Thence back by Damas, Arabia Petrea,
 Galilee, Samaria, mountainous Judea,
 I toiling came; and at Jerusalem,
 I lodg'd near Moriah, in a cloystered frame.*

THE winter expired, and the spring gone, time
 summoned me, after three months repose, to em-
 brace the violence of a fiery-faced season; where, ha-
 ving dutifully taken my leave of many worthy friends,
 who both kindly and respectfully had used me, espe-
 cially the aforesaid English ambassador, Sir Thomas
 Glover, and the new ambassador Sir Paul Pindar, who
 had lately arrived there before my departure, and had
 been formerly consul in Aleppo five years, I left Con-
 stantinople, and embarked in a ship belonging to Lon-
 don, named the *Allathya*, whereof one Mr Wylds, in
 Ratcliff, was master; where indeed both he and his
 company kindly and respectfully used me for the space

of twelve days, being bound for Smyrna ; and so we sailed along the coast of Bithynia in Asia Minor.

Bithynia hath, on the north, Hellespont ; on the west, Phrygia ; on the east, Pontus ; and on the south, Cappadocia, or Leuco-Syria. The chief cities are Chalcedon, where, by the command of the Emperor Martinianus, the fourth general council was assembled, to repel the heresy of Nestorius. Nigh unto the side of Hellespont, is Mount Stella, famous for that victory which Pompey had over Mithridates, and where Tamerlane, with eight hundred thousand Tartarians, encountered Bajazet, whose army consisted of five hundred thousand men, of which two hundred thousand lost their lives that day ; and Bajazet being taken, was carried

about in an iron cage ; on whose neck
Bajazet taken by Tamerlane. Tamerlane used to set his foot, when he mounted on horseback ; and at last beat out his own brains against the bars of the iron cage. The next cities are

Nicomedia and Nyce, where the first general council was kept *anno* 314, to which there assembled three hundred and eighteen bishops to beat down the Arian heresy. The other towns are Prusa and Labissa. The former was built by Prusias King of Bithynia, who betrayed Hannibal when he fled to him for succour ; in the latter Hannibal lieth buried. Prusa was a long time the seat of the Ottoman kings, till Mahomet I. began to keep his residence at Adrianople. The chief rivers are, Ascanius, Sangaro, and Granico, nigh unto which Alexander obtained the first victory against the Persians.

Having passed Bithynia, and the Phrygian coast, we arrived at Cenchrea, where St Paul cut his hair, after his vow was performed, Acts xviii. 18. being a town now inhabited by Greeks, with a Turkish governor, and of small importance, in regard of other neighbouring places that bereave them of their traffic ; and because the Jews do not so much frequent here. The inhabitants are rather turned spectators to virtue, than any way inherent to necessary goodness : want of strangers

gers being one let, and vicious indolence the other stop. This city standeth by the sea-side in the north part of Ionia; but more truly on the west frontiers of Lydia. Lydia hath, on the west, Phrygia Minor; on the south, Ionia; on the east, Paphlagonia; on the north-west, Æolis, and a part of Phrygia Minor. The chief city is Sardis, once the royal seat of Cræsus, the richest king in his time, who, in his full prosperity, was told by Solon, that no man could reckon upon felicity so long as he lived, because there might be great mutability of fortune; which afterward he found true. The recital of which advertisement, when he was taken prisoner by Cyrus, saved his life. The next city is Pergamus, where parchment was first invented, and therefore called *Pergamenum*. Here was Galen born, who lived so healthfully one hundred and forty years; the reason whereof he thus affixeth, He never eat or drank his full, and ever carried some sweet perfumes with him. The other towns are, Thyatira, Laodicea, and Philadelphia.

Upon the twelfth day after our departure from Constantinople, we arrived at Smyrna, being four hundred miles distant.

This city was one of the seven churches mentioned Revelations ii. 8. and standeth in Ionia. Of this place was the famous martyr Policarpus bishop, who once had been scholar to John the Evangelist; and living till he was of great age, was at last put to death for Christ's sake. It is a goodly place, having a fair haven for ships. They have great traffic with all nations; especially for fine silk, cotton-wool, and dimity, brought to it by the country-peasants, which strangers buy from them.

*The city of
Smyrna.*

Near to this city, I saw a long continuing plain, abounding in corns, wines, all sorts of fruitful herbage, and so infinitely peopled, that I thought nature seemed to contend with the people's industry; the one by propagating creatures, the other by admirable agriculture.

For commodities and pleasure, it is little inferior to the valley of Suda in Candy, which maketh the inhabitants wondrous insolent. For as mirth is

Wealth is the mother of vice. made of pleasure, and with pleasures all vices are baited; even so there is not a more incorrigible creature than man in prosperity, nor so modest nor reformed

an one as he to whom fortune hath lent but a sparing and crooked favour: which indeed I hold best of all; for it is the forming of the mind, not the tongue, nor hand, that can prefer us to true felicity.

And would to God that these, upon whom none but fair winds have ever blown in the career of their supposed happiness, could but see, for all their high and overtopping places, their end and resting place; since they are nought but the arrows of the omnipotent arm that are yet flying, not at theirs, but his mark, and are no more owners of their own proposed ends, than they are of their own beginnings, surely they would cover their faces with another kind of mask than they do.

Thyatira, now called *Tiria*, one also of the seven churches, is not from Smyrna above eighteen miles.

From this city (having left my kind Englishmen, and their stately ship that carried twenty-four pieces of ordnance) I embarked in a Turkish carmoesalo, that carried nothing but her loading, being bound for Rhodes. In our sailing along the coast of Ionia, the first place

Ephesus decayed. of any note I saw was the ruinous city of Ephesus*, yet somewhat inhabited with Greeks, Jews, and a few Turks; but no wise answerable to its former glory

* Ephesus, a very celebrated city of Ionia in Asia Minor, situated upon the river Cayster. Among Heathen authors, this city was once much noted for its famous temple of Diana, which, for its largeness and workmanship, was accounted one of the seven wonders of the world. It is said to have been 425 feet long, 220 broad, and to have been supported by 127 pillars of marble, 70 feet

glory and magnificence, being rather a monument for memory, than a town still of any excellency. Nevertheless it is pleasantly adorned with gardens, fair fields, and green woods of olive-trees, which on the sea do yield a delightful prospect. It was one of the seven churches, Rev. ii. 1. This was one of the most renowned cities in Asia the Lesser; but the fame thereof arose from the temple of Diana, which, for the spaciousness, furniture, magnificent workmanship, was accounted one of the seven wonders of the world. It was two hundred years in building, being four hundred and twenty-five feet long, and two hundred broad. It was seven several times burnt, whereof the most part was with lightning; and lastly, the final destruction of it came by a base fellow, Erostratus, who, to purchase himself a name, did set it on fire. Timothy was Bishop of Ephesus; to the people whereof St Paul directed one of his epistles. And finally, it was famous for the the burial of St John the Evangelist. It was said of this place, in the Acts of the Apostles, that all Asia, and the whole world, did worship here Diana. Tully reporteth, *De natura Deorum*, that Timæus, being demanded the reason why the temple of Diana was set on fire that night when Alexander the Great was born, gave this jest thereof, That the mistress of it was from home; because she, being the goddess of midwives, did that night wait upon Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, who was brought to bed in Macedonia.

feet high; whereof 27 were most curiously wrought, and all the rest polished. One Ctesiphon, a famous architect in his time, contrived the model of it; and that with so much art and curiosity, that it took up 200 years before it was finished, even though it was built at the common expence of all Asia, properly so called. After it was finished, it was seven times set on fire; but once, more especially, on the very day Socrates was poisoned; and at another time, on the same night that Alexander the Great was born. — See Dictionary of the Bible.

Overagainſt this city is the iſle Lango, *The iſle Lango, or Coos.* anciently called *Coos*, wherein the great Hippocrates was born, and Apelles the moſt excellent painter. It is both fertile and populous, and of circuit above eighty miles. There is a kind of ſerpent ſaid to be in it, ſo friendly unto the inhabitants, that when the men are ſleeping under the ſhadow of trees, they come crawling, and will link or clasp themſelves about their necks and bodies, without doing any harm: neither when they awake are the beaſts afraid.

And near to Lango is the iſle Nixa, of old Strangoli, and by ſome called *Dionyſias* and *Naxus*, an iſland both fruitful and delightful. As we ſailed by the weſt part of the iſle, a Greek paſſenger ſhewed me the place where (as he ſaid) Ariadne was deceived of Theſeus, which is not far from the watery plain of Dammille.

Continuing our navigation, I ſaw the little iſle Ephoſh, where the Turks told me, that all the iſlanders were naturally good ſwimmers, paying no more tribute to their great Lord the Turk, ſave only once in the year there are certain men and women choſen by a Turkiſh captain, who muſt ſwim a whole league right out in the ſea, and go down to the bottom of the waters, to fetch thence ſome token they have got ground; and if they ſhall happen to fail in this, the iſland will be reduced again to pay him yearly rent. This I ſaw with mine eyes: While we being calmed, there came a man and two women ſwimming to us, more than a mile of way, carrying with them (dry above the water) baſkets of fruit to ſell, the which made me not a little to wonder. For when they came to the ſhip's ſide, they would neither board nor boat with us; but lay leaning, or, as it were, reſting themſelves on the ſea, upon their one ſide, and ſold ſo their fruits; keeping complements and diſcourſes with us above an hour. Contenting them for their ware, and a freſh gale ariſing,

sing, we set forward, touching at the little isle of Samothracia.

This isle of Samothracia was called of old *Dardania*, and now by the Turks *Samandracho*; a place of small note, considering the *Samathracia*. quantity of the isle, and the small number of inhabitants. Their lives being answerable to their means; ignorance and servitude, two strong commanders of infirm weaklings, and no less powerful than they are debile in the debt of worthiness; which the younglings of understanding, and sucklings of far-looked-to knowledge, can never be able to escape, although a true profession covereth many natural imperfections, and in it a hope for blessedness, which indeed more wish for than rightly understand it. And upon the ninth day after our departure from Smyrna, we arrived at the city of Rhodes, so called of the island wherein it standeth.

Rhodes lieth in the Carpathian sea. It was of old called *Ithria*, *Telchino*, and *Phiula*. Fliny saith it was called *Rhodes*, because there were certain fields of roses in it; for *Rhodes*, in the Greek tongue, signifieth a *flower*. Not far from the city, and at the entry of the haven, I saw the relicks of that huge and admirable erected idol, named *Colossus Rhodius*, or the mighty image of the sun, which was made in honour thereof; from the which St Paul termed the inhabitants *Colossians*. It was builded by the worthy Canete Lindo in the space of twelve years. Others have said by Calasses, the disciple of Lyfippus, taking the name *Colossus* of him; and it was thought worthy to be one of the seven earthly wonders; and so it might justly have been. The quantity whereof (as yet) may amaze the mind of the beholder. It was erected in the image of a man, being eighty cubits high, and so big that the little finger of it was as big as an ordinary man; between whose legs (it standing in the harbour's mouth, with a leg on each side of the entry) ships

ships were wont to pass under with taunt sails. When Mnavi, general of Caliph Osman, first united this isle to the Mahometan empire, and broke down the greatest part of this statue, the brass whereof was said to be so much that it loaded nine hundred camels.

This isle belonged once to the knights of Malta, who were then called *Knights of Rhodes*; but they came first out of Acre in the holy land, who were called *Knights of St John*, who courageously expelled the Saracens from thence *anno* 1308, who had formerly taken it from the divided Grecians. These knights greatly infested the Turks for the space of two hundred years, till Solyman the Magnificent at last invaded and subdued it. The Rhodians were ever great friends to the Romans, insomuch that when all the other Mediterranean islands revolted to Mithridates of Pontus, this only adhered to the Romans.

This isle of Rhodes, within the space of twenty-five years, was three times mightily endangered by violent and extreme impetuosities of rain, in
Inundation of such short that the last flood did drown
waters. the greatest part of the inhabitants;
 which beginning in the spring-time, did continue till summer; and in all this time it broke violently down their houses, and in the night killed the people lying in their beds; and in the day-time such as were sheltered under safeguard of their dwellings; which was a miserable destruction, and the like of it scarcely heard of since the universal deluge.

But true it is, as these ominous judgements falling upon particular parts and parcels of people, are justly executed, yet they serve for caveats for all others in general, (sin being the original of all), to take heed of offending the Creator, in abusing the best use of the creature.

The city of Rhodes hath two strong fortresses; in one of which these knights (Lilladamus Villiers being Great Master, who were about five hundred only, and five thousand Rhodians who assisted them) were besieged by

by an army of two hundred thousand Turks, and three hundred galleys, for the space of six months. The chief obstacle that prevented so great an army from taking it, was only the resolute valour of the defendants. But in the end numbers overmastering valour, and the Cavalieri di Rhodo, wanting furniture to their ammunition, and being penurious of victuals, were constrained to surrender, upon the conditional safety of their lives, goods, and transportation; and remained a long time without any habitation, till the king of Spain gave them the barren isle of Malta to inhabit. The isle of Rhodes was lost *Rhodes taken by the Maltese anno Dom. 1522; and by Solyman.* on Christmas-day Solyman entered the town as conqueror, though he might justly have said, (as Pyrrhus once said of his victory over the Romans), that such another victory would utterly have undone him, he lost so many of his bravest commanders, and best soldiers. It is ever since in the possession of Turks. The fortrefs of Rhodes, and that fortrefs Famagusta in Cyprus, are the two strongest holds in all the empire of the Great Turk.

And by the way, here I must record, that if the Great Turk, and his great council, were not good paymasters to their Janizaries, and speedy rewarders of their common soldiers, it were impossible for him the Emperor, or them the Bashaws, to manage so great a state, and to keep under obedience so headstrong a multitude, and such turbulent forces; for if a soldier's industry be not quickened and animated with bountiful rewards, he hath *Soldiers should be regarded and rewarded.* less will to perform any part of martial service, than a dead corpse hath power to arise out of the grave: for what can be more precious to man than his blood, being the fountain and nurse of his vital spirits, and the ground of his bodily substance? which no free or ingenious nature will hazard to lose for nothing.

And whosoever shall argument or discourse upon
found

found reason, and infallible experience, may easily prove and perceive, that these commanders have ever best prospered, which have most liberally maintained, and had in singular regard, military arts and soldiers; otherwise the honourable mind would account it a great deal better to have death without life, than life without reward; yea, and the noble commander, desiring rather to want than to suffer worth unrecompensed.

Rhodes joineth near to the continent, overagainst Caria, now called *Carmania*, under which name the Turks comprehend Pamphilia, Ionia, Lycia. Caria, by the sea-side, hath Lycia to the south, and Caria to the north. The chief cities are Manissa and Mindum; which having great gates, being but a small town, made Diogenes the Cynic cry out, Ye citizens of Mindum, take heed that your city run not out of your gates. The third is Hallicarnassus, where Dionysius was born, who wrote the history of Rome for the first three hundred years. Of which town also the province took the name; for Artemisia, who aided Xerxes against the Grecians, was by some authors named *Queen of Hallicarnassus*. This was she who, in honour of her husband Mausolus, built that curious
Mausolus's tomb. sepulchre, accounted for one of the wonders of the world; it being twenty-five cubits high, and supported with thirty-six admirable wrought pillars.

After I had contented the master for my freight and victuals, (who, as he was an infidel, used me with great exaction), I found a bark of the Arches bound to Cyprus; with the which I embarked, being four hundred miles distant.

This Tartareta, or demi-galleot, belonged to the isle of Stagiros, anciently Thasia, wherein there were mines of gold, in these times, that afforded yearly to Philip King of Macedon above eighty talents of gold, but now mightily impoverished, and of no consequence. The chief town whereof is Palmapetro, where divers Greeks hold the opinion Homer was interred, having

a famous sea-port, which is a common resting place for all the oriental pirates or cursaroes; which maketh the isle half desolate of people, and these few scarce worthy of their dwellings.

Having passed the gulf of Sattelia, and the isle Carpathia, whence that part of the sea taketh his name, we sailed close along the coast of Lycia, and the firm land of fruitful Pamphilia. The chief city of Lycia is Patras, *Pamphilia and Lycia.* watered with the river of Zanthus;

whence the people were called *Zanthi*, afterward *Lycians*, of Lycus son to Pandion. It lieth betwixt Caria and Pamphilia, as Pamphilia lieth between it and Cilicia. The chief town in Pamphilia is Seleucia, built by Seleucus, one of Alexander's successors. On the east of Lycia, within the land, bordereth Lycaonia, &c. Having left Pamphilia behind us, we came to the coast of Cilicia, sustaining many great dangers, both of tempestuous storms, and invasions of damnable pirates, who gave us divers assaults to their own disadvantages, our speed was swifter than either their swallowing desires could follow, or our weak and irresolute defence could resist.

Here, in this country of Cilicia, was St Paul born, in the now decayed town of Tharsus, who for antiquity will not succumb to any city of Natolia, being as yet the mistress of that province, though neither for worth nor wealth.

All ancient things by Time revolve in nought,
As if their founders had no founding wrought;
But thou torn Tharsus brooks a glorious name,
For that great saint, who in thee had his frame.
So may Cilicians joy, the Christian fort,
That from their bounds rose such a mighty fort.

Twelve days was I between Rhodes and Limisso in Cyprus; where arrived, I received more gracious demonstrations from the islanders than I could hope for,
or

*The descrip-
tion of Cyprus* or wish, being far beyond my merit or expectation; only contenting my curiosity with a quiet mind, I redounded thanks for my embraced courtesies.

The people are generally strong and nimble, of great civility, hospitable to their neighbours, and exceedingly fond of strangers. The second day after my arrival I took with me an interpreter, and went to see Nicosia, which is placed in the midst of the kingdom: but in my journey thither, extreme was the heat and thirst I endured, both in respect of the season, and also want of water: and although I had with me sufficient of wine, yet durst I drink none thereof, being so strong, and with all had a taste of pitch; and that is, because they have no barrels, but great jars made of earth, wherein their wine is put. And these jars are all inclosed within the ground, save only their mouths, which stand always open, like to a source or cistern; whose insides are all interlarded with pitch, to preserve the earthen vessels unbroke asunder, in regard of the forcible wine; yet making the taste thereof unpleasant to liquorish lips, and turneth the wine too heady for the brain in digestion, which for health groweth difficult to strangers, and to themselves a swallowing up of diseases.

To cherish life and blood, the health of man,
Give me a tost, plung'd in a double cann,
And spic'd with ginger: for the wrestling grape
Makes man, become from man, a sottish ape.

Nicosia is the principal city of Cyprus, and is environed with mountains, like unto Florence in Ætruria; where-
*The six cities
of Cyprus.* in the beglerbeg remaineth. The second is Famagusta, the chief strength and sea-port in it. Selina, Lemisso, Paphos, and Fontana Morosa, are the other four special towns in the island.

This isle of Cyprus was of old called *Achametide Amatusa*, and by some *Marchara*, that is, happy. It is
of

of length, extending from east to west, two hundred and ten, sixty broad, and of circuit six hundred miles. It yieldeth a great number of sugar-canes, cotton-wool, oil, honey, corns, turpentine, allum, verdegreefe, grograms, store of mettles and salt, besides all other sorts of fruit and commodities in abundance. It was also named *Cerastis*, because it butted toward the east with one horn. And lastly *Cyprus*, from the abundance of Cypress trees there growing. This island was consecrated to Venus; where in Paphos she was greatly honoured, termed hence *Dea Cypri*.

*Festa Dies Veneris, tota celeberrima Cypro,
Venerat, ipsa suis aderat Venus aurea festis.*

Venus feast-day, through Cyprus hallowed came,
Whose feasts her presence dignified the same.

Cyprus lieth in the gulf between Cilicia and Syria, having Egypt to the west; Syria to the south; Cilicia to the east; and the Pamphylian sea to the north. It hath four chief capes or head-lands: First, westward the promontory of Acanias, modernly Capo di Santo Epifanio; to the south, the promontory Phæuria, now Capo Bianco; to the east Pedasia, modernly Capo di Greco; to the north, the high foreland of Cramineon, now Capo di Cormathita: These four are the chief promontories of the island, and Cape di S. Andrea, in the furthest point eastward toward Cilicia. Diodore and Pliny say, that anciently it contained nine kingdoms, and fifteen good towns. Cerania, now Selina, was built by Cyrus, who subdued the nine petty kings of this isle: Nicosia is situate in the bottom or plain of Massara, and thirty-four miles from Famagusta; and the town of Famagusta was formerly named *Salamis*. I was informed by some of great experience here, that this kingdom containeth about eight hundred and forty villages, besides the six capital towns, two whereof are nothing inferior for greatness and populousness

puloufness, to the best towns in Candy, Sicily, or Greece.

The largest and highest mountain in this isle, is by the Cypriots called *Trohodos*; it is of height eight, and of compass forty-eight miles; whereon there are a number of religious monasteries, the people whereof are called *Colieres*, and live under the order of St Basile. There is abundance here of Coriander-feed, with medicinal rhubarb and turpentine. Here are also mines of gold in it, of chrysocole, of calthante, of allum, iron, and exceeding good copper. And besides these mines, there are divers precious stones found in this isle, as emeralds, diamonds, crystal, coral red and white, and the admirable stone amiante, whereof they make linen cloth that will not burn, being cast into the fire, but serveth to make it neat and white.

The greatest imperfection of this isle is scarcity of water, and too much plenty of scorching heat, and sandy grounds. The inhabitants are very civil, courteous, and affable; and notwithstanding of their delicious and delicate fare, they are much subject to melancholy, of a robust nature, and good warriors, if they might carry arms. It is recorded, that in the time of Constantine the Great, this isle was all utterly abandoned of the inhabitants, and that because it did not rain for the space of six and thirty years. After which time, and to replant this region again, the chief colonies came from Egypt, Judea, Syria, Cilicia, Pamphylia, Thracia, and certain territories of Greece.

And it is thought, in the year 1163, after that Guy of Lusingham, the last Christian king of Jerusalem, had lost the Holy Land, a number of French men staid and inhabited here, of whom sprung the greatest part of the Cyprian gentry; and so from them are descended the greatest families of the Phenician Sydonians, modernly Drusians: though all divided, and worse declined, yet they are both sprung from

*Comparisons
of isles.*

from one original ; the distraction arising from conscience of religion, the one a Christian, the other a Turk.

The three isles of Cyprus, Candy, and Sicily, are the only monarchic queens of the Mediterranean seas ; and like to other in fertility, length, breadth, and circuit ; save only Candy, *Cyprus re-planted.* that is somewhat more narrow than the other two, and also more hilly and sassi-

nous ; yet for oils and wines, she is the mother of both the other : Sicily being for grain and silks the empress of all ; and Cyprus for sugar and cotton-wool, a darling sister to both ; only Sicily being the most civil isle, and full of gentry, the Cypriots indifferently good, and the Candiots the most rude of all.

The chief rivers are Teno, and Pedesco : Cyprus was first by Teucer made a kingdom, who after the Trojan war came and dwelt here ; and afterward being divided between nine petty princes, it was subdued by Cyrus, the first monarch of the Medes and Persians. After the subversion of which empire, this isle was given to the Ptolemies of Egypt ; from whom Cato conquered it to the benefit of the Romans. The Dukes of Savoy were once Kings of

Cyprus ; but the inhabitants usurping their authority, elected kings to themselves, of their own generation ; and so it continued, till the last king of Cy-

The Dukes of Savoy were Kings of Cyprus.

prus, James the Bastard, (marrying with the daughter of a noble Venetian, Catharina Cornaro), died without children, leaving her his absolute heir. And she perceiving the factious nobility too headstrong to be bridled by a female authority, like a good child, resigned her crown and sceptre to the Venetian state, *anno* 1473. Whereupon the Venetians embracing the opportunity of time, brought her home, and sent governors thither to bear sway in their behalf ; paying only as tribute to the Egyptian Sultans four hundred thousand crowns, which had been due

ever since Meleckfala had made John of Cyprus his tributary.

It was under their jurisdiction one hundred and twenty years, and more ; till that the Turks, who ever oppose themselves against Christians, (finding fit occasion in time of peace, and without suspicion in the Venetians), took it in with a great armado, *anno* 1570, and so till this day by them is detained. O great pity ! that the usurpers of God's word, and the word's great enemy, should maintain (without fear) that famous kingdom, being but one thousand and fifty Turks in all who are the keepers of it. Unspeakable is the calamity of that poor afflicted Christian people, under the terror of these infidels ; who would, if they had arms, or assistance of any Christian potentate, easily subvert and abolish the Turks, without any disturbance ; yea, and would surrender the whole Signory thereof to such a noble actor. I do not see, in that small judgement which by experience I have got, but the redemption of that country were most easy ; if that the generous heart of any Christian prince, would be moved with compassion to relieve the miserable afflicted inhabitants. In which work he would reap (questionless) not only an infinite treasure of worldly commodities, that followeth upon so great a conquest, but also a heavenly and eternal reward of immortal glory. The

The Florentines attempted to conquer Cyprus.

which deliverance Ferdinando, Duke of Florence, thought to have accomplished (having purchased the good-will of the islanders), with five galleons and five thousand soldiers ; who being mindful to take first in the fortrefs of Famagusta, directed so their course, that in the night they should have entered the haven, disembarked their men, and scaled the walls.

But in this plot they were far disappointed by an unhappy pilot of the vice-admiral, who mistaking the port, went into a wrong bay ; which the Florentines considering, resolved to return, and keep the sea, till the second night ; but, by a dead calm, they were frustrated

strated of their aims, and on the morrow were discovered by the castle. Whereupon the Turks went immediately to arms, and charged the inhabitants to come to defend that place. But about four hundred Greeks in the west part, at Paphos, rebelled; thinking that time had altered their hard fortunes by a new change; but alas, they were prevented, and every one cut off by the bloody hands of the Turks. This massacre was committed in the year 1607. Such always are the torturing flames of fortune's smiles, that he who most affecteth her, she most and altogether deceiveth: "But they who trust in the Lord, shall be as stable as Mount Sion, which cannot be removed:" And, questionless, one day God, in all his eternal mercy, will relieve their miseries, and in his just judgements recompense these bloody oppressors with the heavy vengeance of his all-seeing justice.

In my return from Nicofia to Famagusta, with my Frenchman, we encountered by the way with four Turks, who needs would have my mule to ride upon; which my interpreter refused; but they, in a revenge, pulled me by the heels from the mule's back, beating me most unmercifully, and left me almost for dead. In the mean while my companion fled, and escaped their fury: and if it had not been for some compassionate Greeks, who by accident came by and relieved me, I had doubtless immediately perished.

Here I remember, between this isle and Sydon, that same summer, there were five galleons of the Duke of Florence, who encountered by chance the Turks great armada, consisting of one hundred galleys, fourteen galleots, and two galleasses: the admiral of which ships did single out herself from the rest, and offered to fight with the whole armado alone; but the Turks durst not, and, in their flying back, the admiral sunk two of their galleys, and had almost seized upon one of their galleasses, if it had not been for twenty galleys, who desperately adventured to tow her away against the wind, and so escaped.

A sea-combat.

For true it is, the natural Turks were never skilful in managing of sea-battles, neither are they expert mariners, or experienced gunners. If it were not for our Christian runagates, French, English, and Flemings, and they too, sublime, accurate, and desperate fellows, who have taught the Turks the art of navigation, and especially the use of ammunition, which they both carry to them, and then become their chief cannoneers, the Turks would be as weak and ignorant at sea, as the silly Ethiopian is unexpert in handling of arms on the land. For the private humour of discontented casta-

*Christian
runagates.*

ways, is always an enemy to public good, who, from the society of true believers, are driven to the servitude of infidels, and refusing the bridle of Christian correction, they receive the double yoke of despair and condemnation. Whose terror of a guilty conscience, or rather blazing brand of their vexed souls, in forsaking their faith, and denying Christ to be their Saviour, forces most of them, either into a torment of melancholy, or into the extasy of madness; which, indeed is a torturing horror, that is sooner felt than known; and cannot be avoided by the rudeness of nature, but by the saving grace of true felicity.

From the fort and city Famagusta, I embarked in a germo, and arrived at Tripoly, being eighty-eight miles distant; where I met with an English ship called *the Royal Exchange of London*, lying there at anchor in the dangerous road of Tripoly, whose love I cannot easily forget; for at my last good night, being after great cheer, and greater carousing, they gave me the thundering farewell of three pieces of ordnance.

Tripoly is a city in Syria, standing a mile from the marine side, near to the foot of Mount Libanus *. Since it hath been first founded, it hath three times been situated, and removed in three sundry places.

*The city of
Tripoly.*

* Tripoly, a city of Phœnicia, a province of Syria in Asia, that stands commodiously at the foot of Mount Libanus, from which issues

places. First, It was overwhelmed with water : Secondly, It was sacked with Corsairs and pirates : Thirdly, It is like now to be overthrown with new made mountains of sand. There is no haven by many miles near unto it, but a dangerous road, where often, when northerly winds blow, ships are cast away.

The great traffic which now is at this place, was formerly at Scanderona, or Alexandretta, a little more eastward ; but by reason *Scanderona.* of the infectious air, that corrupted the blood of strangers, proceeding off two high mountains, who are supposed to be part of Mount Caucasus, which with-hold the prospect of the sun from the indwellers, more than three hours in the morning ; so that, to my knowledge, I have known to die in one ship, in a month's time, twenty mariners. For this cause the Christian ships were glad to have their commodities brought to Tripoly, which is a more wholesome and convenient place.

The daily interrogation I had here, for a caravan's departure to Aleppo, was not a little wearisome to me, being mindful to visit Babylon. In this my expectation, I took purpose with three Venetian merchants, to go see the cedars of Lebanon, which was but a day's journey thither. As we ascended upon the mountain, our ignorant guide, mistaking the way, brought us into a labyrinth of dangers ; infomuch that, wrestling among the intricate paths of the rocks, two of our asses fell over a bank, and broke their necks : And if it had not not been for a Christian Amaronite, who accidentally encountered with us in our wildsome

issues a small river that runs through the place, and is about a mile and a half from the Levant, with a commodious harbour defended by six square castles or towers, built along the shore. It is the seat of a Turkish viceroy or beglerbeg. The fields and gardens are well stocked with mulberry-trees, and a considerable silk manufactory is carried on ; but in the year 1760, a dreadful earthquake almost entirely ruined this city, and now a pestilence continues to make equal havock among the remainder of its inhabitants. It lies about ninety-eight miles south of Scanderoon. — Geographical Dictionary, on the word *Tripoli*.

wandering, we had been miserably lost ; both in regard of rocks, and heaps of snow we passed ; and also of great torrents, which fell down with force from the steepy tops ; wherein one of these merchants

The cedars of Libanus. was twice almost drowned. When we arrived to the place where the cedars

grew, we saw but twenty-four in all, growing after the manner of oak-trees, but a great deal taller, straighter, and greater, and the branches grow so straight and interlocking, as though they were kept by art. And yet from the root to the top they bear no boughs, but grow straight upward, like to a palm tree ; who, as May-poles envelope the air, so their circle-spread tops, do kiss or enhance the lower clouds, making their grandeur overlook the highest bodies of all other aspiring trees, and, like monarchic lions to wild beasts, they become the chief champions of forests and woods.

Although that, in the days of Solomon, this mountain was overlaid with forests of cedars, yet now there are but only these, and, nine miles westward thence, seventeen more. The nature of that tree is always green, yielding an odoriferous smell, and an excellent kind of fruit like unto apples, but of a sweeter taste, and more wholesome in digestion. The roots of some of these cedars are almost destroyed by shepherds, who have made fires thereat, and holes wherein they sleep ; yet nevertheless they flourish green above in the tops and branches. The length of this mountain is about forty miles, reaching from the west to the east ; and continually, summer and winter, reserveth snow on the tops. It is also beautified with all the ornaments of nature, as herbage, tillage, pasturage, fructiferous trees, fine fountains, good corns,

The prince of Libanus. and absolutely the best wines produced upon the earth. The Signor thereof

is a freeholder, by birth a Turk, and will not acknowledge any superior, being the youngest son of the Emir, or prince of Sidon, who, when his father revolted against Achmet, and not being able to make

make his own part good, fled into Italy, to the Duke of Florence; and notwithstanding that the elder brother yielded up Sidon, and became a pardoned subject to the great Turk, yet this the other brother would never yield nor surrender himself, the fort, nor the Signory of Libanus. The old prince his father, after two years exile, was restored again to his Emperor's favour; with whom, in my second travels, both at Leghorn and Messina in Sicily, I encountered; whence the Duke of Sona, that kingdom's viceroy, caused transport him on a stately ship for the Levant to Sidon. The Sidonians or Drusians, were first of all Frenchmen, who, after their expulsion from Jerusalem, fled hither to the borders of Zabulon and Nephthalim, now called *Phœnicia*, as I shall make more clear afterwards.

The most part of the inhabited villages are Christians, called *Amaronites* or *Nestorians*, *quasi* Nazaritans, and are governed by their *Nestorians*, own patriarch. There are none at this day do speak the Syriac tongue, save only these people of Mount Libanus, and in that language the Alcoran of Mahomet is written. The kind Amaronite whom we met, and took with us for our best guide, in descending from the cedars, shewed us many caves, and holes in rocks, where Coleires, religious Syrians and Amaronites abide. Amongst these austere cottages, I saw a fair tomb all of one *Joshua's* stone, being seventeen foot of length; *tomb.* which (as he said) was the sepulchre of the valiant Joshua, who conducted the people of Israel to the land of promise.

The Mahometans esteem this to be a holy place, and many resort to it in pilgrimage, to offer up their satanical prayers to Mahomet. I saw, upon this mountain, a sort of fruit called *amazza Franchi*; that is, the death of Christians; because when Italians, and others of Europe, eat any quantity thereof, they presently fall into the bloody flux, or else ingender some other pestilentious fever, whereof they die.

The patriarch did most kindly entertain us at his house; so did also all the Amaronites of the other villages, who met us in our way, before we came to their towns, and brought presents with them of bread, wine, figs, olives, salads, capons, eggs, and such like, as they could on a sudden provide.

This bishop or patriarch's house is joined with, and hemmed in within the face of an high rock, that serveth for three sides thereof, the fore and fourth part being only of mason-work. Near unto which falleth precipitately a great torrent over the scassinous bank, that maketh a grievous noise night and day; which, as I told him, I thought it should turn the bishop stark deaf. But the homely and simple man, (not puffed up with ambitious greed, and glorious apparel, like to our proud prelates in Christendom), told me, that continual custom brought him to dispose upon the day, and sleep better in the night, because of the sounding waters. Where reposing with him one night, my muse the next morning saluted Libanus with these lines.

Long and large mount, whose rich spread mantle,
see,

Affords three colours to my wandering eye :

The first are corns in their expectant view,

Fair barley, rye, and wheat : O hopeful hue !

That quickeneth the prest plough ; and for to eat,
It makes new toil begin again to sweat.

The second sight are wines, the best on earth,

And most delicious in their pleasant birth ;

They're physical, and good t'expel all sorts

Of burning fevers in their violent torts :

Which senators of Venice drink for health,

There's nought so rare, but is attain'd by wealth.

The third is amiable, O verdure green !

For pasturage, the best that can be seen :

Draw nigh the tops where fire-worn cedars grow,

And here or there some cooling spots of snow ;

Whence

Whence rills do spring, and speedy torrents fall,
To loose scorch'd flowers, that burning heat would
thrall.

Here herds frequent, whose pleasant toils do rest
Of mountains all, on Liban, only best ;
Where piping Pan, and Silvan do accord,
To lurk with Ceres, and make Bacchus Lord ;
Pitch'd under silent shades ; whence Eden town,
These bounds for paradise, dare firmly crown :
And last, to count these colours, here's delight,
The fields are green, wines yellow, corns as white.

About the village of Eden, is the most fruitful part
of all Libanus, abounding in all sorts of delicious fruits.
The variety of these things, indeed, maketh the silly people think the garden of *The Georgi-*
Eden was there. By which alledgeance, *ans paradise.*
they prove the apprehension of such a
sinistrous opinion with these arguments, that Mount
Libanus is sequestrate from the circumjacent regions,
and is invincible for the height and strength they have
in rocks ; and that Eden was still rebuilt by the fugitive
inhabitants, when their enemies had ransacked it : Also they affirm, before the deluge it was so called,
and after the flood it was repaired again by Japhet, the
son of Noah, who builded Joppa, or Japhta in Palesti-
na. Lo, these are the reasons they shew strangers for
such like informations.

There are with this one, other two supposed places
of the earthly paradise. The one is by the Turks, and
some ignorant Georgians, holden to be at Damascus,
for the beauty of fair fields, gardens, and excellent
fruits there ; especially for the tree called *Mouslee*,
which they believe hath grown there since the begin-
ning of the world. Indeed it is a rare and singular
tree, for I saw it at Damascus, and others also of the
same kind upon Nilus in Egypt. The growth whereof
is strange ; for every year in September, it is cut down
hard by the root, and in five months the tree bud-
deth

deth up a pace again, bringing forth
The tree leaves, flowers, and fruit. The leaf
Mouslee. thereof is of such a breadth, that three
 men may easily stand under the shadow
 of it, and the apple is bigger than a foot-ball, which
 is yearly transported for Constantinople to the great
 Turk; and, there is reserved for a relick of the fruit
 of the forbidden tree; whence he styles himself *Keeper*
of the earthly paradise.

But if he were not surer a greater commander and
 reserver of a large part of the best bosom of the earth,
 than he is keeper of that Adamian garden, his styles
 of the earth, and mine of the world, were both alike;
 and that were just nothing, save only this, two naked
 creatures living amongst naked people; or, otherwise,
 if it were to be kept or seen, certainly I would wish to
 be a postillion to the great porter the Turk, but not
 his pedagogue, far less his pilgrim.

The third place, by the Chelfanes, is thought to be in
 the east part of Mesopotamia, near to
The Chelfane the joining of Tigris and Euphrates,
paradise. where they inhabit. I have oft requi-
 red of these Chelfanes, what reason they
 had for this conceived opinion? who answered me,
 They received it from time to time, by the tradition of
 their ancestors: And because of the river Euphrates,
 and other rivers mentioned in the scriptures, which to
 this day retain their names in that country, some hold,
 that the garden of Eden extended over all the earth,
 But contrariwise, it manifestly appeareth by the 2d chap-
 ter of Genesis, ver. 14. that this garden we call para-
 dise, wherein Adam was put to dress it, was a certain
 place on earth, containing a particular portion of a
 country, called *Eden*, which bounded on the river Eu-
 phrates. To this, and all the rest, I answer, No cer-
 tainty can be had of the place where Eden was, either
 by reading or travelling, because this river hath been
 oft divided into fundry streams. And, it is said, that
 Cyrus, when he won Babylon, did turn the main chan-
 nel of Euphrates to another course. But howsoever,
 or

or wheresoever it be, I am of opinion, no man can demonstrate the place, which God, for the sins and fall of man, did not only accurse, but also the face of the earth.

Many ancient authors have agreed with the opinion of Plato and Aristotle, constantly affirming, that mountains, islands, and countries, have received great alteration by the inundation of rivers, and violence of raging seas. *Violence of seas and waters.* Thracia hath been divided from Bithynia; Nigroponti from Thessalia; Corfu from Epire; Sicily from Italy; the isles Orcades from Scotland; and many other islands and countries cut into divisions after the same form. Wherefore, the more a man contemplates to search the knowledge of Eden, and such high mysteries, (appertaining only to the Creator), the more he shall fail in his purpose, offend God, become foolish and fantastical for his pains.

But to turn back to my itinerary relation, after my return to Tripoly, I departed thence eastward, with a caravan of Turks to Aleppo, being ten days journey distant. In all this way (leaving Scanderoon on our left hand) I saw nothing worthy remarking, save only a few scattered villages, and poor miserable people, called *Turcomani*, living in tents, and following their flocks, to whom I paid sundry caffars, who remove their women, children, and cattle, wheresoever they find fountains and good pasturage; like unto the custom of the ancient Israelites; which, in their wandering fashion, did plainly demonstrate the necessity they had to live, rather than any pleasure they had, or could have, in their living.

They differ also in religion from all the other Mahometans, in two damnable points. The one is, they acknowledge that there is a God; and that he of himself is so gracious, that he neither can do harm, being essentially good, nor yet will authorise any ill to be done; and there-

The Turcomans opinion of God and the devil.

fore

fore more to be loved than feared. The other is, they confess there is a devil, and that he is a tormentor of evil doers, and of himself so terrible and wicked, that they are contented, even for acquiring his favour and kindness, to sacrifice in fire their first-born child to him; soliciting his devilishness, not to torment them too sore when they shall come into his hands; and yet for all this, they think afterwards, by the mercy of Mahomet, they shall go from hell to paradise.

In this immediate or aforefaid passage, we coasted near and within six miles of the limits of Antiochia,

Antiochians one of the ancient patriarch sees, so
the first Chri- called of Antiochus her first founder;
stians. and not a little glorying to this day, that the disciples of Jesus and Antiochians

were first here named *Christians*; who, notwithstanding of their grievous afflictions, flourished so, that, in forty years, they grew a terror to their enemies; who, suggested by the devil, cruelly afflicted them with ten general persecutions, under the Emperor Nero, *anno* 67.; Domitianus, *anno* 96.; Trajanus, 100; Maximinus, 137; Marcus Antonius, 167; Severus, 195; Decius, 250; Valerianus, 259; Aurelianus, 278; and Dioclesian, *anno* 293 years. Notwithstanding all which massacres and martyrdom, yet this little grain of mustard-seed, planted by God's own hand, and watered with the blood of so many holy saints, (*nam sanguis martyrum semen ecclesiae est*), grew so great a tree, that the branches thereof were dispersed through every city and province of the whole world.

Before my arrival in Aleppo, the caravan of Babylon was from thence departed, which bred no small grief in my breast. The Venetian consul, to whom I was highly recommended by the aforefaid merchants, (having had some insight of my intended voyage), informed me, that the caravan staid at Beershake on Euphrates, for some conceived report they had of Arabs,
 that

that lay for them in the desarts, and wanted me to hire a Janizary, and three foldiers, to overtake them, whose counsel I received ; but was entirely frustrated of my designs. True it was, they staid ; but were gone three days before my coming to that unhappy place.

*Frustrate of
Babylon.*

The distance from whence, over land, to Babylon, or Bagdat, being but six small or short days journey, the loss whereof, and the damnable deceit of my Janizary, made my muse to express what my sorrowful prose cannot perform.

The doubts and drifts of the voluble mind,
That here and there do flee, turn judgement blind ;
Did overwhelm my heart, in grim despair,
Whilst hope and reason fled, staid tim'rous care.
And yet the grounds were just ; my treach'rous
guide

Did nought but cross me ; greed led him aside.
Still this, still that I would ! All I surmise
Is shrewdly stopt. At last my scopes devise
To make a boat, to bear me down alone,
With drudges two, to ground chang'd Babylon.
That could not be ; the charges was too great ;
And eke the stream did nought but dangers threat.
My conduct still deceiv'd me, made it square
Another Caravan, O ! would come there
From Aleppo, or Damascus ; till in end
Most of my monies did his knavery spend.
Thus was I tofs'd long five weeks and four days,
With struggling doubts. O strange were these de-
lays !

At last a Chelfane came, a Christian kind,
Who by my grief soon understood my mind ;
And told me flat, the Janizary's drift
Was to extort me with a lingering shift.
Come, come, said he, the sanzack here is just ;
Let us complain, for now complain we must.

He

He with me went, and for a trenchman serv'd ;
 And told the ruler how my conduct swerv'd.
 He's call'd, and soon convinc'd, and with com-
 mand

Forc'd to transport me back to Syria's land.
 I'm there arriv'd, and eftsoons made me bound
 For the Venetian consul ; there to sound
 My great abuses by this villain done ;
 Which soon were heard, and eke repair'd as soon.
 The Bashaw was upright ; and for time's sake
 He did me more than conscience will'd me take.
 My plaint preferr'd, he was in prison laid,
 And all my gold, to give me back was made,
 Which he had falsely ta'en ; where, for his pains,
 He had the loss, and I receiv'd the gains.
 For doubling his wrongs done, to cross him more,
 I got my vantage from his craft before ;
 And for his ten weeks fees, no more he had
 Than he that's owner of a ditch fall'n jade.
 Thus leaving him, I with the consul bode,
 Full forty days, ere I went thence abroad.

In the eleven days journey I had between Aleppo
 and Beershack, through a part of Syria, the breadth of
 Mesopotamia, and Chelfania, a province of the same,
 joining with Tigris and Euphrates, and returning the
 same way again, I found nothing worthy of remark-
 ing, save the fertility of the soil ; which
Mesopotamia. indeed, in Mesopotamia, yieldeth two
 crops of wheat in the year ; and for a
 bushel sowing, in divers places, they receive a hundred
 again.

The country itself is overclad with infinite villages,
 having no eminent town of any note or consequence,
 except the city of Carahemen, the seat of a Beglerbeg,
 who commandeth under him fourteen Sanzacks, and
 twenty-six thousand Timariots. The people here are
 for the most part believers in Christ ; but, alas ! too
 silly, untoward, and ignorant Christians ; and yet, tho'
 without learning, or great understanding therein, they are
 wonderful

wonderful zealous in their profession, and great sufferers for it also.

This barbarous town of Beerhack, being situate on Euphrates, standeth in *Beerhack*. the Chelfanes country, and is supposed to have been Padan-aram, where Laban dwelt, and where Jacob kept Laban's sheep; though some interpret all Mesopotamia then to have been called *Padan-aram*: From whence north-east, and not far hence, are the demolished fragments of Niniveh on Tigris, whose very ruins are now come to ruin; the decays whereof being much like to that sacked Lacedemon in Sparta, or to the stonny heaps of Jericho, the detriments of Thebes, the relicks of Tyrus, or to the final overthrow of desolate Troy. This country of Chelfane is the place most agreeable with scripture where the earthly paradise was set, though now impossible to be found out.

Mesopotamia is seldom watered with rain; but by the nature of the soil is *Mesopotamia*. marvellous fruitful. It is bordered with Caldea, on the east; Euphrates, on the south; Syria, on the north; and Arabia Petrea, on the west. This Aleppo is a city in Syria; the name of which hath been so oft changed by the Turks, that the true antiquity of it can hardly be known. It is both large and populous, and furnished with all sorts of merchandise, especially of Indigo and spices, that are brought from over land from Goa, and other places in India, which draweth a crowd of all nations to it.

Here I remember of a notable obedience done to the Great Turk by the *A notable obedience.* Great Bashaw of Aleppo, who was also an Emir, or hereditary prince; to wit, the year before my coming hither, he had revolted against his emperor, and fighting the Bashaws of Damascus and Carahemen, overcame them. The year following, and in my being there, the Grand Signor sent from Constantinople a Showse, and two Janizaries, in ambassage to him; where, when they came to

to Aleppo, the Bashaw was in his own country at Mesopotamia. The messengers make haste after him; but in their journey they met him coming back to Aleppo, accompanied with his two sons, and six hundred horsemen. Upon the highway they delivered their message, where he stood still and heard them. The proffer of Achmet was, that if he would acknowledge his rebellion, and for that treason committed send him his head, his eldest son should both inherit his possessions and bashawship of Aleppo; otherwise he would come with great forces, in all expedition, and in his proper person he would utterly raze him and all his from the face of the earth.

At which expression, the Bashaw, knowing that he was not able to resist the invincible army of his master, and his own presence, he dismounted from his horse, and went to counsel with his sons, and nearest friends; where he and they concluded, it was best for him to die, being an old man, to save his race undestroyed, and to keep his son in his authority and inheritance. This done, the Bashaw went to prayer, and taking his

*The Bashaw
of Aleppo be-
headed.*

leave of them all, sat down upon his knees, where the Showse struck off his head, putting it in a box, to carry it with him for Constantinople. The dead corpse was carried to Aleppo, and honourably buried; for I was an eye-witness to that funeral feast. And immediately thereafter the Showse, by proclamation and power from the Emperor, fully possessed the son in his father's lands, offices, bashawship, and the authority of all the eastern Syria, part of Mesopotamia, and the Assyrian country; for this Bashaw of Aleppo is the greatest in commandment and power of all the other Bashaws in the Turk's dominions, except the Bashaw or Beglerbeg of Damascus; and yet the former, in hereditary power, far exceedeth the other, being a free Emir, and thereupon a prince born. The force of his commandment reacheth to eighteen Sanzacks, and thirty thousand Timariots,

riots, besides Janizaries, and other inferior soldiers, which would make up as many more.

This city is called in the scriptures *Aram-Sobab*, 2 Sam. viii. 3. and *Aleppo*, of Alep, which signifieth *milk*; whereof there is a great plenty here *. There are pigeons brought up here after an incredible manner, who will fly between Aleppo and Babylon, being thirty days journey distant, in forty-eight hours; carrying letters and news, which are tied about their necks, to merchants of both towns, and from one to another; who are only employed in the time of hasty and needful intendments. Their education to these tractable expeditions is admirable; the flights and arrivals of which I have often seen in the time of my wintering in Aleppo, which was the second winter after my departure from Christendom †.

Flying Pigeons with letters.

Syria hath, on the east, Armenia Major; on the south, Mesopotamia; on the north, Cilicia and the sea; on the west, Galilee and Phœnicia. In the Bible the Syrians are called *Aramites*, who were an obscure people, sub-

* Aleppo is well supplied with butter and cheese, made indiscriminately from milk-cows, buffaloes, sheep, and goats; of all which the Arabs have large flocks, wherewith they travel, like the patriarchs of old; and from which they draw their subsistence. The Turks and Jews scarce ever eat beef, though the Europeans find it tolerably good at all seasons. Buffaloes abound in Syria; yet there are but few about Aleppo; and these are kept chiefly for milk. The food of which they are fondest is mutton. Of this they have great plenty, fat and good. — See Alexander Russel's travels to Aleppo.

† They have many sorts of fowl well known to us, besides others which to describe would ingross too much of our time. This is the native country of the carrier-pigeon, formerly used by the Europeans for conveying expeditiously the news of a ship's arrival at Scanderoon: a practice that has been disused for many years. The pigeon thus employed was one that had left young ones at Aleppo. A small piece of paper, with the ship's name, the day of her arrival, and what else material could be contained in a very narrow compass, was fixed, to prevent its being wetted, under the bird's wing; and the feet of it were bathed in vinegar, to keep them cool, that they might not settle to drink or wash themselves. — Ibid.

ject to the Persians, and subdued by Alexander; after whose death this country, with Persia, and other adjacent provinces, fell to the share of Seleucus Nicanor; who also wrested from the successors of Antigonus the Lesser Asia. This kingdom hath suffered many alterations; especially by the Persians, Grecians, Armenians, Romans, Egyptians, lastly by the Turks, and daily molested by the incurfive Arabs.

In my expectations here, and the spring come, (being disappointed of my desired aims), I intended to visit Jerusalem in my back-coming. And for the furtherance of my determination, I joined with a Caravan of Armenians and Turks, that were all guarded with Janizaries and soldiers, of whom some were to stay at Damascus by the way, and some mindful to the furthest mark. And, for my better safeguard, (being always alone, which by all was ever much admired), the Venetian consul took surety of the captain, that he should protect me safely from thieves, cut-throats, and the exactions of tribute by the way, delivering me freely into the hands of the Padre Guardiano at Jerusalem. Which being done, I hired a mule from a Turk, to carry my victuals; and so set forward with them. The

A Caravan of Armenians. number of our company were about nine hundred Armenians, Christian pilgrims, men and women; six hundred Turks trafficking for their own business; and one hundred soldiers, three Showfes, and six Janizaries, to keep them from invasions.

Between Aleppo and Damascus, we had nine days journey; in five of which we had pleasant travelling, and good Canes to lodge in, that had been built for the support of travellers, and are well maintained. But when we passed Hamsek, which is a little more than mid-way, we had dangerous travelling, being oft assailed with Arabs, fatigued with rocky mountains, and sometimes in a point of choking for lack of water. The confusion of this multitude was not only grievous, in regard of the extreme heat, providing for victuals at poor villages, and scarcity of water to fill our bottles, made

made of boar-skins ; but also amongst narrow and stony passages, thronging, we oft fell one over another, in great heaps, in danger to be smothered ; yea, and oftentimes we that were Christians had our bodies well beaten by our conducting Turks. In this journeying I remember the Turk who was the owner of my mule was for three days exceeding favourable unto me, inso-much that I began to doubt of his carriage, fearfully suspecting the Italian proverb,

*Chi mi famiglior, che non ci soule,
Ingannato mi ha, oingannar mi Vuole.*

He that doth better now to me than he was wont,
He hath deceiv'd, or will deceive me with some sad
affront.

But when I perceived his extraordinary service and flattery was only to have a share of the tobacco I carried with me, I freely bestowed a pound thereof upon him : which he and his fellows took as kindly as tho' it had been a pound of gold ; for they are as excessively addicted to smoke, as Dutchmen are to the pot : which ever made me to carry tobacco with me, to requite their favour, over and above *Pagan flat-*
their sials, more than ever I did for my *tery.*
own use : for in these days I took none
at all ; though now, as time altereth every thing, I am (*honoris gratia*) become a courtly tobacconist, more for fashion than for liking. The Turkish tobacco-pipes are more than a yard long, and commonly of wood or canes, being joined in three parts with lead or white iron ; their several mouths receiving at once a whole ounce of tobacco, which lasteth a long space ; and because of the long pipes, the smoke is exceeding cold in their swallowing throats.

At our accustomed dismounting to recreate ourselves, and refresh the beasts, I would often take a walk to stretch my legs, which were stiffed with a stumbling beast ; wherewith the Turks were mightily discontent-
ed,

ed, and in derision would laugh and mock me : for they cannot abide a man to walk in turns, or stand to eat ; their usage being such, that when they come from their horse-back, they presently sit down on the ground, folding their feet under them, when they repose, dine, and sup. So do also their aruzans ; and all the Turks in the world sit always cross-legged, wrongfully abusing the commendable custom of the industrious tailors. In their houses they have no bed to lie on, nor chair to sit on, nor table to eat on, but a bench made of boards along the house-side, of a foot high from the floor, spread over with a carpet, whereon they usually sit eating, drinking, sleeping, resting, and doing of manual exercises, all in one place. Neither will the best sort of Mahometans be named *Turks*, because it

Turks are signifieth *banished* in the Hebrew tongue ;
called Mussul- and therefore they call themselves *Mussul-*
mans. *mans*, viz. *good believers*. Where indeed
for good it is a false epithet ; but cer-

tainly for firm believers, they are wonderful constant : and so are all ignorants, of whatsoever profession ; even like to the Spaniard, who, in the midst of all his evils, yet he remaineth always faithful to all the usurpations the Spanish crown can compass.

They never uncloath themselves when they go to rest ; neither have they any bed-cloaths, save only a coverlet above them. I have seen hundreds of them, after this manner, lie ranked like dirty swine in a beastly sty, or loathsome jades in a filthy stable.

Upon the ninth day, (leaving Cotafa behind us on the mountains), we entered in a pleasant plain of three leagues of length, adorned with many villages, gardens, and rivers ; and arriving at Damascus, we were all lodged (some in chambers wanting beds, and others without, on hard stones) in a great Cane called *Heramnen* ; where we staid three days. During all which time, provision for ourselves, and provender for our beasts, were given us twice a-day *gratis* ; being allowed by the Grand Signor to all kind of strangers whatsoever that
come

come to Damascus with any Caravan; being a singular comfort and advantage to weary and extorted travellers.

Damascus is the capital city of Syria, called by Turks *Shamma*, and is situated on a fair plain, and beautified with many rivers on each side, (especially Paraphar and Abderah), excellent orchards, and all other natural objects of elegance: that for situation, artisans, all manner of commodities, and variety of fruits, in all the Asiatical provinces it is not paralleled. By the Turks it is called *the garden of Turkey*, or rather their earthly paradise, because of a fenced garden there, where a garrison of Turks lie continually, keeping that tree Mouslee, whereon, as they allege, the forbidden apple grew, wherewith the serpent deceived Eve, and she Adam; and from whence the Great Turk is also styled, *Keeper of the Terrestrial Paradise*.

Damascus is called Shamma.

Some hold this city was built by Eleazer, the servant of Abraham; and others say it is the place where Cain slew Abel: where indeed is is most likely to be so; for hard by Damascus I saw a pillar of brass erected there for a commemoration of that unnatural murder of Cain executed upon his innocent brother*. But whatever is in that, it is a pleasant and gallant city, well walled, and fortified with a strong

The antiquities of Damascus.

* Several writers have been of opinion, that Cain and Abel dwelt near Damascus; and that this city takes its name from the blood of Abel; *Dam*, in Hebrew, signifying blood, and *Sack* a righteous person; and they still shew in these parts Abel's monument, which is, as they say, forty feet in length. The Jews and Christians have a tradition, that paradise was situated in the belly of Damascus. The beauty and fertility of the place induced the inhabitants to be of this opinion, though it is at a good distance from the Tigris and Euphrates. They also assert, that Adam was created near Damascus, of a certain red earth, which is to be seen at the same place, and which to them seemed more proper than any other to form flesh.—
Dictionary of the Bible.

castle, wherein the Bashaw remaineth. The most part of the streets are covered; so that the citizens are preserved in summer from the heat, and in winter from the rain.

The like commodity (but not after that form) hath Padua in Lombardy. Their Bazar, or market-place, is also covered; so are commonly all the Bazars, or Bezestans in Turkey. The best carobiers, Adam's apples, and grenadiers, that grow on the earth, is here. Near unto the Bazar, there is a mosque, called *Gemma*, wherein my guide shewed me the sepulchre of Ananias, and the fountain where he baptized Paul. In another street, I saw the house of Ananias, which is but a hollow cellar under the ground, and where the disciples let Paul down through the wall in a basket. In the street where they sell their Viano, my interpreter shewed me a great gate of fine metal, which he said was one of the doors of the temple of Solomon, and was transported thence by the Tartarians who conquered Jerusalem about three hundred and eighty years ago, who, for the heavy weight thereof, were enforced to leave it here, being indeed a relick of wonderful bigness. And I saw also such abundance of rose-water here in barrels, to be sold, as beer or wine is rife with us.

This paradise-like Shamma is the mother city, and most beautiful place of all Asia, resembling every way (the tectures of her houses excepted, being platform) that matchless pattern and mirror of beauty, the city of Antwerp. The only best shables, or short crooked swords, that be in the world, are made here; and so are all their other weapons; as half-pikes, bows and arrows, and baluckoes of steel, that horsemen carry in their hands; their shafts being three feet long, their heads great and round, and sharply guttered, wherewith they use to brain or knock down their ene-

*The forces of
the Bashaw of
Damascus.*

mies in the field. The Beglerbeg or Bashaw of Damascus has the greatest command of all other Bashaws in Asia; having under his authority (as he
is

is under his Emperor) twenty-two fanzacks; and they conducting under all the aforefaid three, forty thousand Timariots, or horfemen, befides two thousand Janizaries, which are the guard of the Bafhaw, and garrifon of the city. His Beglerbegship extendeth over the greater half of Syria, a part of the two Arabias, Felix and Petrea, Phœnicia, Galilee, Samaria, Palestina, Judea, Jerufalem, Idumea, and all the northern parts of Arabia the Defert, even to the frontiers of Egypt.

The means of the prefervation of fo great a ftate, is only by an induced confidence upon the power and force of thofe Timariots, who as well have their pay, and local grounds of compensation, in time of tranquillity as wars, to defend thefe countries from the incursions of the wild Arabs, which evermore annoy the Turks, and alfo ftrangers; and cannot poffibly be brought to a quiet and well-formed manner of living, but are continual fpoilers of thefe parts of the Turkish dominions. That mischief daily increafeth, rather than any way diminifheth. They, taking example from the beaftly Turks, add, by thefe patterns, more wickednefs to the badnefs of their own difpofitions: fo that every one of thefe favages, according to his power, dealeth with all men unci- *Savage Arabian* villy and cruelly, even like a wilderness *robbers.* full of wild beafts, all living upon rapine and robbery, wanting all fenfe of humanity, more than a fhew of appearance; whereby, being combined together, they do tyrannize over all, even from the Red fea to Babylon.

Thus they, in that violent humour, invading alfo thofe of Afric, hath caufed Grand Cairo to be furnifhed with thirty thousand Timariots, which defend the frontiers of Egypt and Gozan. Leaving all the Turks at Damafcus, (fave only our Janizaries and foldiers), within the fpace of two hours after our departure from thence, travelling in the way of Jerufalem, the whole Armenians fell down on the ground, kiffing it, and making many fincere demonftrations of unwont-

ed devotion. At the which I being amazed, stood gazing, asking my Frenchman, what news? who replied, saying, It was the place where St Paul was converted, which they had (and all Christians should have) in great regard. The place was covered with an old chapel *, and,

More like some relick, of extirp'd decay,
Than for a monument rear'd for the way,
To blaze on Paul's conversion; yet it's true,
The work was done, even by the Christian Jew,
Or Jacob, a circumcised kind,
Who bear to Franks a most respective mind.

Three days were we betwixt Damascus and the east part of Galilee, which is the beginning of Canaan; in two of which three we encountered with marshes and quagmires, being a great hindrance to us. This barren and marshy country is a part of Arabia Petrea, coming in with a point between Galilee and Syria, running along even to the south-west skirt of Libanus, which indeed in that place, far more than Jordan, divideth the true Syria from Canaan. This Petrean country itself, sloping even down to the limits of Jacob's bridge, cutteth away the denomination of Syria from this parcel of ground, till you come eastward to the more laborious plains.

Through this passage it is most undoubtedly a very thievish way: for as we travelled in the night, there were many of us forced to carry burning lights in our hands; and our soldiers had their harquebusses ready

A dangerous way.

* At about 500 paces from Damascus, on the south side, upon the highway, the place is shewn where St Paul was thrown upon the ground, and heard a voice saying unto him, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?" Here a church was built, which at present is entirely ruined. In the same city there is still to be seen the house which is said to be that of Ananias, who baptised and instructed St Paul. It was changed into a church; but the Turks have made a mosque of it. — Dictionary of the Bible, on the word *Damascus*.

to discharge ; all to affright the blood-thirsty Arabians, who in holes, caves, and bushes, lie obscured, waiting for, advantage upon travellers, not unlike unto the lawless wood-carnes in Ireland. This part of Arabia is called *Petrofa*, because it is so rocky ; and some think of Petra, the chief town. It was anciently divided into two regions, Nabathia and Agara, possessed first by the Hagarens, descended of Abraham and Hagar. It is also thought to be the land of the Midianites, whither Moses fled to, and kept sheep ; and Mount Horeb is there, whereon the Lord did shew him the land of promise.

Divers of these Petrean Arabs converse and dwell amongst the Turks, whom we term, in respect of the other, civil Arabs. South from hence lieth Arabia Felix, bordering with the Indian sea ; which is the most fruitful and pleasant soil in all Asia, abounding with balsamo, myrrh, and frankincense, gold and pearls, especially about Medina, the second city to Mecca. The other towns of note are Horan, the chief port of the South ocean ; and Alteroch, the only town where Christians are in greatest number in that country.

Truly, with much difficulty, and greater danger, passed we these Petrean journeys. Here I remarked a singular quality, and rare *Arabia Petraea* perfection, in the careful conduct of our captain ; who would, when he came to any dangerous place, give the watch-word of St Johanne, meaning as much thereby, that none should speak or whisper after that warning, under the pain of a harquebusado. And no more we durst, unless he had stretched out his hand, making us a sign (when occasion served) of liberty, lest, by our tumultuous noise in the night, our enemies should have the foreknowledge of our coming ; and knowing also, that the nature of a multitude bred all times confused effects, without some severe punishment. Himself rode still in the vanguard, upon a lusty gelding, with two Janizaries and forty soldiers ; and the other four Janizaries and sixty soldiers were appointed to be the back-guard, for fear

fear of sudden assaults. Thus most dexterously discharged he the function of his calling, not with insolence, but with prudent and magnanimous courage : For my part, I must needs say, the diligent care of that benign caravan extended over me was such, that whensoever I remember it, I am not able to sacrifice congratulations sufficiently to his well-deserving mind ; yet in the mean while my purse bountifully rewarded his earnest endeavours ; and notwithstanding of this high conceived regard, yet in some frivolous things, and for a small trifle, he privately wronged me, which I mis-knew, as unwilling (knowing his disposition, and that my life hung in his hands) to be too forward to seek a redress : For oftentimes an inconvenience is most convenient ; and as the great corrupter of youth is pleasure, and the violent enemy of age is grief ; even so are the inordinate desires of unconscionable strangers towards travellers, who preferring avarice above honesty, care only for that part of a man which is his fortune, whose friendship beginning only in an outward show, must end in the midst of a man's money ; as who would say, such like were rather employed, as their employments rewarded ; and therefore in unlawful things they must suck the honey of their own preposterous ends : And thus it fared with him ; at the paying of my tributes by the way for my head, he caused me oft to pay, more than reason, to the Moors, Turks, and civil Arabs, receiving secretly back from them the overplus ; which my Turkish servant perceiving, made my Trenchman tell me, that I might be foreseen therein.

But such is the covetous nature of man, that with his covenant he cannot be contented, unless he seek otherwise, by all unlawful means, to purchase himself an unjust gain. But the high respect I had of his other perfections, made me overlook and wink at that imperfection of avariciousness in him ; and especially remembering myself to be under his protection, I always endeavoured my aims so, that in his sight I won extraordinary

dinary favour ; infomuch that, in danger or security, he would ever have me near by him, which I also craved, and strove to observe the points of his will, and my own safety.

The obligation of my bounden duty taught me to no other end, than ever to respect the benevolence of his affection, and to suppress my own weak judgement, which could never mount to the true acquittance of his just merit.

But to proceed on my pilgrimage ; on the aforesaid third day in the afternoon, we entered into Galilee, passing along a fair bridge that is over the river Jordan, which divideth a part of this stony Arabia from Galilee. This bridge, by the Armenians, is called *Jacob's bridge* ; and not far hence, they shewed me the place where Jacob wrestled with the angel, and where Esau met his brother Jacob to have killed him, being upon the east side of the river. Jordan is scarcely known by the name at this place ; but afterwards I saw his greater growth, ending in Sodom, whereof, in the one place, I shall more amply discourse. Between *Jacob's bridge* and Jerusalem, we had six days journey, five whereof were more pleasant than profitable, in regard of the great tributes I paid by the way for my head, that at sundry places, and in one day, I have paid for my freedom in passage twelve zechins of gold, amounting to five pound eight shillings of English money : A journal tribute, more fit for a prince to pay than a pilgrim ; the admiration only resting upon this, how I was furnished with these great sums of money I daily disbursed.

April the eighteenth day, according to the computation of the Roman calender, and by ours March the eight and twentieth, I entered into Galilee a province of Canaan. This country was first called *Canaan*, from Canaan the son of Cham : secondly, *The land of promise*, because it was promised by the Lord to Abraham and his seed to possess : thirdly, *The land of Israel*, of the Israelites, so called from Jacob who was surnamed *Israel* ;

Israel ; fourthly, *Judea*, from the Jews, or the people of the tribe of Judah ; fifthly, *Palestine*, *quasi Philistin*, the land of the Philistines ; and now, sixthly, *Terra Sancta*, the Holy Land, because herein was wrought many wonderful miracles, but especially the work of our salvation. It is in length an hundred and eighty, and in breadth sixty miles ; yet of that salubrity of air, and fertility of soil, flowing with milk and honey, that before the coming of the Israelites, it maintained thirty kings with their people, and afterward the two potent kingdoms of Israel and Judah ; in which David numbered one million and thirty thousand fighting men, besides them of the tribe of Benjamin and Levi. It is most certain, that by the goodness

Canaan of the climate and soil, especially by the blessing of God, it was the most fruitful land in the world : But, by experience, I find now the contrary, and the fruitfulness thereof to be changed, God cursing the land together with the Jews, then the (but now dispersed) inhabitants thereof. Neither are the greatest part of these eastern countries so fertile as they have been in former ages, the earth as it were growing old, seemeth weary to bear the burden of any more increase ; and surely the two eyes of day and night, with the planets, and stars, are become neither so forcible, so bright, nor warm as they have been ; time, from old antiquity, running all things to desolation, making the strong things weak, and weak things feeble, at last it returneth all things to just nothing : And there is the end of all beginnings, and an infallible argument of the dissolution to come by the day of judgement.

As things that are, still vanish from our eye,

So things that were, again shall never be :

The whirlwind of time still so speedy posts,

That like itself, all things therein it tosts.

The Jews are also termed *Hebræi*, or *Hebrews*, from Heber, one of Abraham's progenitors, or *Hebræ*, *quasi Abrahæ* ;

Abraha; who, at their descent into Egypt, were but seventy souls, being the issue of Jacob and his twelve sons. The posterity of which patriarchy continued in bondage two hundred and fifteen years, till in the year of the world 2453. At which time the Lord, commiserating their heavy oppressions under the Egyptians, delivered them with a strong hand, and placed them here; which then was inhabited by the Hittites, Amorites, Perizzites, and Jebusites.

Canaan is divided into five provinces, *The Holy viz. Judea, Galilee, Palestina, Samaria, Land.* and Phœnicia: Some divide it only into three, Palestina, Judea, and Galilee. It hath been by others also nominated in general, *Syria*; by which calculation they gathered all the countries from Cilicia to Egypt under that name. But howsoever they differ in descriptions, it is most certain, that at this day, it is only and usually divided into these five particular provinces. Galilee and Palestina, for the present, are the most fertile, and greatest provinces thereof, especially Galilee, which, in some parts, yieldeth grain twice a-year; and for abundance of silk, cotton-wool, delicate wines, honey, oil, and fruits of all kinds, I hold it never a whit more decayed now, than at any time when the glory of Israel was at the highest. This province of Galilee is forty-eight miles long, and twenty-five broad, having Phœnicia to the north; Samaria to the west; Jordan to the south; and to the east and north-east, a part or point of Arabia Petrosa, and the south-west end of Libanus.

After we had travelled a great way along the lake of Gennēsareth, which is eight leagues in length, and four broad, where I saw the decayed towns of Bethsaida and Tyberias, lying on the north side of the same sea, we left the sea-coast, and came to Cana, to stay all night; in which we had no Canes to save us from the Arabs, nor coverture above our heads, but the hard ground to lie on, which was always my bed in the most parts of Asia. In the night when we slept, the soldiers kept

kept centinel, and in the day when we reposed, they slept and we watched.

This Cana was the town wherein our Saviour wrought the first miracle, converting, *Cana in Galilee.* at the marriage, water into wine; and is now called by the Turks, *Calieros*, or *Calinos*, being a town composed of two hundred fire-houses; the inhabitants being partly Arabs, partly Jews, and partly Christian Georgians. The circumjacent fields, being both fertile, delectable, and plain.

The day following, resuming our journey, we passed over a little pleasant mountain, where the Armenian patriarch, (for so was there one with them), went into an old chapel, and all the rest of the pilgrims thronged about him, using many strange ceremonies, for it was in that place (as they said) “where Christ fed five thousand people, with five barley-loaves and two fishes.” And indeed it is very like the place. The ancient chapel, shewing as yet some beautiful decorations, do dignify both the monument, and the memory of the founder thereof.

Continuing our journey, we saw Mount Tabor on our left hand, which is a pretty round mountain, beset about with comely trees. I would gladly have seen the monument of that place, where the transfiguration of Christ was. But the Caravan, mindful to visit Nazareth, left the great way of Jerusalem, and would by no persuasion go thither.

That night we lodged in a poor village called *Heershek*, where we could get neither meat for ourselves, nor provender for the beasts; but some of our company, for their supper, had an hundred strokes from the Moors and Arabs in that place, because the Christian pilgrims had trodden upon the graves of their dead friends, which by no means they can tolerate. They made no small uproar amongst us, desperately throwing stones and darts, till we were all glad to remove half a mile from that place; and the next morning we passed
by

by Cæsarea Philippi, which is now so miserably decayed, that the town consisteth not of above twenty-four dwelling-houses, and is almost in as ruinous a situation as sacked Samaria, or another spectacle of time, like to the now ragged town of the Moorish Bethulia. It was built by Philip one of the tetrarchs, in honour of Tiberius Cæsar, and now called by the Moors *Hederasco*. Here was Herod smitten by the angels, and eaten of worms, after the sycophantic people called his rhetorical oration, *The voice of God, and not of man*. Here our Saviour healed the woman of the bloody flux, and raised from death to life the daughter of Jairus. Here St Peter baptized Cornelius, and St Paul disputed against Tertullus, in the presence of Felix.

Cæsarea Philippi.

April 20. about ten of the clock, (passing the river Kyson), we arrived at Nazareth, and there reposed till the evening, providing ourselves of victuals and water. In this town dwelt Joseph and the Virgin Mary; and in which also our Saviour was brought up under the vigilant care of Joseph and Mary. After we had dined, the Armenians arose, and went to a heap of stones, the ruins of an old house, before which they fell down upon their knees, praising God; and that ruinous lump (say they) was the house where Mary dwelt when Gabriel saluted her, bringing the annunciation of salvation to the world. I am fully persuaded they carried away above five thousand pounds weight to keep in memorial thereof: Then did I remember of the chapel of Loretta, and told the Caravan, that I saw that house standing in Italy, which (as the Romanists say) was transported by the angels. O, said he, we Armenians cannot believe that, neither many other assertions of the Roman church; for we certainly know by Christians, that have from time to time dwelt here ever since, that this is both the place, and stones of the house: Let Papists coin a new law to themselves, we care not; for as they err in this, so do they err in all, following merely the traditions of men; they

A counter buffet for Loretta.

they run galloping post to hell. The patriarch being informed by the laughing Caravan of these news, asked me in disdain, (thinking it had been an article of my belief), If I saw that house, or believed that the chapel of Loretta was such a thing? to whom I constantly answered, I did not believe it, affirming it was only but a devilish invention, to deceive the blindfolded people, and to fill the coffers of the Roman priests. Now, thou bottomless gulf of papistry, here I forsake thee, no winter-blasting furies of Satan's subtil storms can make shipwreck of my faith, on the stony shelves of thy deceitful deeps.

Thus, and after this manner too, are all the illusions of their imaginary and false miracles, first invented partly by monasterial poverty, then confirmed by provincial bribery; and lastly, they are faith-fold for consistoral lucre. In the mean time of our staying here, the Emir, or Lord of the town, sent six women, conducted by twelve of his servants, to an Armenian

Libidinous prince, that was a pilgrim in our com-
lechery. pany, to be used by him, and others
whom he would elect to be his fellow-
labourers; which indeed he did kindly

accept, and invited me to that feast; but I gave him the refusal, little regarding such a frivolous commodity. He, and some of the chief pilgrims entertained them for the space of three hours, and sent them back, giving to their conductors fifteen piasters as a reward. Truly, if I would rehearse the impudence of these whores, and the brutishness of the Armenians, as it is most ignominious to the actors; so, no doubt, it would be very loathsome to the reader.

Such is the villany of these oriental slaves under the Turks; that not only by conversing with them, they learn some of their damnable Ethnic customs, but also going beyond them in beastly sensuality, become worse than brute-beasts. This maketh me remember a worthy saying of that heathenish Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius, who, in consideration of fleshly lusts, said, That although he were sure the gods would not punish him

him for the offence ; yet he would forbear it, in regard of the filthiness of the fact itself. Indeed a noble and virtuous resolution of a Pagan, when such base and beastly Christians, these wretched Armenians, committed with these infidel harlots, a twofold kind of voluptuous abomination, which my conscience commands me to conceal, lest I pollute this northern world with that which their nature never knew, nor their knowledge have heard, hearing of the like ; but God in his just judgements, that same night, threatened both to have punished the doers, and the whole company for their sakes. For we having resolved to travel all that night ; and because the way was rocky, and hard to be known, and perilous for Arabs, we hired a Christian guide, named *Joab*, and agreed with him to take us to Lydda, which was two days journey. But before we advanced to our passage, *Joab* had sent a privy messenger before us, to warn about three hundred Arabs (who had their abode on the south side of Mount Carmel) to meet him at such a place as he had appointed ; giving them to know we were rich, and well provided with ze-chins, and sultans of gold, and piasters of silver ; and that he should surrender us into their hands for such a recompence and consideration as their savage judgements should think fit, according to the spoils and booties they should obtain, together with the miserable murder and loss of our lives. This being done, and unknown to us, we marched along, travelling faster than our ordinary pace, some on horse, and some on foot, for my pilgrimage was always on foot. Our guide suspecting that, by our celerity, we should go beyond the place appointed for his treacherous plot, began to cross us grievously, leading us up and down amongst pools and holes, whither he listed ; where many of our camels and asses were lost, and could not be recovered, because we all began to suspect and fear ; which was the cause that the owners durst not stay to relieve their perishing beasts.

In the end, the captain and Janizaries intreated him
O earnestly

earnestly to bring us in the right way ; but the more they requested, the more obdurate was his heart, replying, He was mistaken, and could not find it till daylight ; upon the which words the company was stopped ; and in the mean while there came a Turk, one of our soldiers, unto the captain, saying, he saw the guide, before our departure from Nazareth, send a

Moor before him, for what respect he
A treacherous guide. knew not, being long at private conference. Whereupon they straight bound him with ropes on a horse-back, threatening him with death, to cause him to confess the truth.

In the midst of this tumult, I having got sight of the north-star, (which seemed exceeding low to me), considering thereby, that the villain had led us more to the southward than to the westward, which was our way to Jerusalem : “ Whereupon I intreated the Caravan to turn our faces northward, otherwise we should be cut off, and that suddenly : For although (said I) it may peradventure be, that we are three or four miles short of the place intended for our massacre, yet they missing us, will, like ravening wolves, hunt here and there ; wherefore, if we incline to the north, (God willing), we shall prevent their bloody designs. To which advice (being duly pondered) they yielded ; and so I became their guide in that dark night, till morning ; for none of them knew that star, neither the nature of it. At last this desperate wretch considering, that either by our vanquishing, or the enemy’s victory, he could not escape, since his treason was revealed, began to beg pardon of the Caravan, saying, That if he could have any surety of his life, he would sufficiently inform us how to escape these imminent dangers ; for we were all in extreme peril of our lives, and not so much courage nor comfort left us, as the very smallest hopes of any relief.

The captain, being distracted with fear, replied he would, and thereupon swore a solemn oath ; so did the Janizaries swear by the head of Mahomet, for the like effect.

effect. Which being done, he was untied, and confessed, that if we had continued in the way he led us, we had been all put to the edge of the sword; and falling down on his knees, cried oft with tears, Mercy, mercy, mercy.

All that night we went with that star, and against morning we were in the western confines of Phœnicia, and at the beginning of Palestine, close by the sea-coast, and within half a mile of Tyrus. This

once renowned city of Tyrus, called now *Tyrus is called* by the Moors *Sur*, was famous for her *ed Sur*.

purples, and colonies dispersed over all the world by her citizens; and once a kingdom of great antiquity and long continuance. The worthiest of her kings were Hiram, in strict bond of confederacy with Solomon, and Pigmalion, the brother of Dido, who built Carthage. This feat, giving way to the Persian monarchy, was, about the overthrow of Darius, attacked by Alexander; who had much ado, with extraordinary expence of men, money, and great labour, to conquer it, being then separated from the main continent by the sea, but now joined to the firm land; and before you come to the city, there lieth a great bank of sand, where it is likely the sea hath been in Alexander's time; though now, as time altereth every thing, the sea is fled from that place, which maketh that ruinous town seem more desolate. At the break of day, I,

and certain Armenians, went to visit this decayed town, and found the most famous ruins here, that the world for memory can afford, and a delicious incircling harbour, inclosed within the middle of the town, fit to receive small barks, frigates, and galleots; the compassing fore-face whereof being all four-squared marble and alabaster stones; the most part of all which houses have stood on pillars of the same stones; the

infinite number whereof may as yet be *The ruins of* (above and below the sands) perfectly *Tyrus*.

beheld. There are only nineteen fire-houses here, which are the Moors; and is now under the Emir of the Drusians, who remaineth in Sidon. The

east part of this country aboundeth in balm, honey, and oil, and was the seat of Asher, of whom Moses prophesied, Deut. xxxiii. 24. that he should dip his feet in oil.

Here these Egyptian Moors, for so they were first bred there, brought us to a pillar lying upon the ground of nine several colours of marble, being one entire stone, and the length of it was twenty-two feet of my mea-

*Samson's
pillar.*

sure, and eight in compass; which, said they, was one of the pillars that Samson pulled down upon the Philistines, at the hour of his death. To whom I answered, That Samson died at Gaza, the furthest south-west part of Palestine, where he bore down the house of Dagon, upon the Philistines; and I think the ancient Tyrians, said I, could not transport that pillar so far hither: But they the more constantly affirmed it, and so did these Armenians that were with me confirm it also, some of whom had been twice there before; yet, howsoever it was, I brought home a pound weight of it, and presented the half thereof to King James of blessed memory.

Here, by accident, in returning back to the caravan, I met with an English factor, named *Mr Brockeys*, who then remained at Sydon, eighteen miles from this place, and had been down at Acre about some negotiations; who indeed est-foons, and kindly took me into a Moorish house by the sea-side, and one of his acquaintance; where instantly we swallowed down such jovial and deep carouses of Leatic wine, that both he and I were almost fastened in the last plunge of understanding; yet nevertheless he conveyed me back to my company, and put me safe into the hands of the caravan, with whom divers times afterwards I met here at London, whose kindness I often celebrate in a glass of good wine.

But now the sun discovering the earth, and the night banished to the inferior world, we were all encouraged; for the light of day lends comfort. The captain (sending back that false Judas, for so was he sworn to do) sent

sent a post to Tyrus for a new guide, who came forthwith, and brought us in our way to Mount Carmel; for by it we behoved to go; and in our way we met with the desolate town of *The town of Sarepta*, nigh thereunto adjoining, where Elisha was sustained in a great famine by a widow, whose son he raised from death.

Great are the mercies of God; for as he hath made man an excellent creature, so hath he also endued him with two great powers in his mind; the one a wise power of understanding, by which he penetrateth into the knowledge of things; the other a strong power of dexterous resolving, whereby he executeth things well understood: for we having judged the worst, resolved the best; and by his Almighty Providence were freed from that apparent danger, although the former day's whoredom and unnatural vices deserved a just punishment.

This I intimate to all travellers in general, that if they would that God should further them in their attempts, bless their voyages, and grant them a safe return to their native countries, (without the which, what contentment have they for all their pains?), that they would constantly refrain from whoredom, drunkenness, and too much familiarity with strangers. For a traveller who is not temperate and circumspect in all his actions, although he were headed like that Herculean serpent Hydra, yet it is impossible he can return in safety from the danger of Turks, Arabs, Moors, wild beasts, and the deadly extremities of heat, hunger, thirst, and cold.

Approaching to Mount Carmel, and leaving it upon our right hand between us and the sea-coast, I beheld, afar off upon the top of the hill, the place where Elijah ascended to heaven, when he left his cloak behind him to Elisha his disciple. This mountain is four miles in length, lying south and north, the north end bordering with the sea, near to Acre, called anciently *Ptolemais*, and the south end *Samaria*, joining with the borders of Samaria, through the which confine we passed.

Leaving Samaria on our left hand, we entered into a fair plain, adorned with fruitful trees, and all other ornaments that pleasant fields afford; but we saw no village. Marching thus about the declining of the sun from the meridian, we came in sight of two hundred pavilions, all pitched in ranks; yielding the prospect of a little city, by a brook-side of water; which being perceived, the captain began to consider what they might be; and immediately there came riding toward us six naked fellows, well mounted on Arabian geldings, who demanded what we were? and whither we were bound with such a multitude? and if there were any Franks in Christendom in our company? To whom the Janizaries replied, We were bound to Jerusalem; and that there was but one Frank with them. Upon the which they presently fought me, demanding Caffar, Caffar, that was tribute for my head, and caused me, by force, notwithstanding of the resisting caravan and Janizaries, to pay them presently for my life seven zechins of gold, seven times nine shillings Sterling: and this is because, said they, our King is resident in these tents, and therefore we have tripled his tribute. And yet were they discontented, because there were no more Franks in our company; for from the Armenians they could not, nor would not, seek any tribute, because they were tributary slaves and subjects to the Great Turk; neither also of any other Christian born in his dominions, when they shall happen to fall into their hands.

They returning back to their prince, with this malediction of my heart, and the sorrow of a pilgrim's purse, we marching on in our way, that day we travelled above thirty-four miles, and pitched at a village called *Adoash*, being composed of sixty Moorish and Arabian houses, standing in a fruitful and delicate plain; and garnished with olive, date, and fig-trees, which were both pleasant and profitable; where we found also good herbs to eat, and abundance of water to drink, and also to fill our emptied bottles. As we lay down to sleep after a hungry supper, on the hard ground,

ground, and our guard watching us, that same King of the Arabians came a little before mid-night, with twenty-four well-horsed runagates, and naked courtiers, being armed with bows and arrows, and half-pikes, pointed at both ends with hard steel ; and asked for the Caravan, who presently awoke, and went to salute him, laying his hand on his breast, bowed his head very low ; which is the usual courtesy amongst the infidels and Christians in these parts ; for they never uncover their heads to any man : and after some short parley, they sat all down on the grass. The Caravan presented his rude-like Majesty with water, bread, herbs, figs, garlic, and such things as he had.

*The savage
Arabian
King.*

As they were thus merry at this poor banquet, the awful King took the oath of our conductor, if there were any more Franks there than I ; and he having sworn the truth, the King, by a malignant informer, immediately caused me to be brought before him ; and staring me in the face, asked my interpreter, where were my companions ? who replied, I had none. Then said he, tell that dog, or Elifhole, he must acknowledge me with five pieces of gold more, otherwise (making a sign to his own throat) I shall cut off his head ; because (said he) I will not lose this night's travel for nothing. The which I being informed, and knowing that by no condition there was resistance

against such a wicked prince, gave it him forth of my own hand, having consulted with my captain before, and that presently with a half-smiling countenance ; which he remarking, told the rest, it seemed I gave it with a good heart, and a chearful gesture ; and to recompence my outward behaviour, he drunk a great draught of water to me, thinking thereby he had done me more honour than all the zechins of gold I gave him now, and in the morning would do him profit or pleasure. Pleasure they could do him none ; for they were unlawfully and dishonestly got, and delivered too from the in-

*Exaction of
tributes.*

ward sorrow of my fighting soul. And no wonder, having spent two years great charges in Turkey before this time, but that I should have been exceeding penurious of money, and thereupon desolate of relief and comfort.

Truly this was one of the greatest tributes I paid for one day's journey, that I had in all my voyage in Asia. There are two kings in Arabia; the one who liveth on Euphrates, the desarts of Mesopotamia, sometimes in Arabia Felix, and some parts of Syria; and the other was he to whom I paid this money, who wandereth with his tribes, tents, and bestial, one while in Arabia Petrea and Deserta, and sometimes in the Holy Land, as he findeth good pasturage and fresh fountains. These two

Two Arabian Kings. Kings are mortal enemies; and if by accident they meet, they fight most cruelly, bringing damage, rapine, and destruction to themselves, and their followers. For it is a difficult thing in them to command their inordinate passions, being untamed savages, and regardless of civility, who continually contend to corroborate the malignity of their dispositions, with bloody and inhuman enterprises. And yet all the rest of that night, after his return from us, we still expected some treacherous surprise; which made our soldiers stand stoutly on their guard, and we pilgrims to our vigilant and naked defence. For the Turks will not suffer Christians to carry weapons in all these dominions, neither in any other place where they command. And for all this great tribute, and night's danger of my life, here was my resolution present.

The more I am beset with dreadful snares,
 Begirded round, in shelvy gulfs of wrack,
 And shipwreck left on rocks of deep despairs,
 Where helpless care, with tort'ring thoughts me
 rack;

Then stoutly stand I, hoping for the end,
 That time will change, and God will better send.

And

And now, by the way, I recall the aforesaid Turk, the master of the mule that carried my provision, and on whom in the journey I had bestowed the most part of my tobacco. When I had no more to give him, and he suspected the contrary, he was counselled by his associates to beat me soundly, and dismount my victuals and water from the mule's back, till I complimented him with the rest. Which intention being by me understood, I forthwith run to the Caravan and complained; whereupon my friend was bravely belaboured with a cudgel, and my better safety procured. Thus was his former shew of love quickly expelled, and an inward grudge suddenly conceived; for it was the smoke, and not myself, he respected.

Love's whirling fancies, mortals fondly feed,
 As marshy roots dissolve, even as they breed:
 An human creature, inhumanely taught,
 Is worser given to ill, than evil fraught.
 Things in themselves be not so bad as ill,
 The cause exeem'd, corruption hath free will.
 Man's frail affection is a cloudy mist,
 Whose vapours fall, and fog, as passions list.
 Bad counsel's worse than nature ill applies,
 Weak judgement dulls, when fear in reason flies.
 Thus sad eclips'd, the dark eclipsed moon
 Did change, e'er my eclipsed light was won.
 At last the sunshine of my silver day,
 Came crawling on, as snails advance the way.

The next morning, when the hopeful Aurora had foreshewn the burning birth of glassy Thetis, and that orient majesty arising to overcirculate the earth, then marched we along in our way, and before mid-day pitched our hair-cloth tent round about Jacob's well, near the decayed city of *Jacob's well*. Sychar in Samaria. This province of Samaria is now, for the most part, quite destroyed and overwhelmed with mountains of sand. We found this ancient well so wondrous deep, that scarcely all our ropes,

ropes could sink our bucket in the water. The taste whereof was wondrous cold and sweet ; and, for Jacob's sake, the whole number of us drunk more of it than need required. The fiery face of Phœbus declining to the west, we marched through a part of the fields of Bashan, of which Og was last king, a man of such a large proportion, that his bed, being made of iron, was nine cubits long, and four broad ; and all that afternoon we had exceeding pleasant travelling ; and at night we encamped by Lydda on the fields. Lydda is not above ten miles from the ruinous town of Cæsarea by the sea-side, and is now called by the Turks and Moors *Alferron*, being a village only of sixteen Moorish houses. Here Peter healed the man sick of the palsy.

The towns situated by the sea-side, in Phœnicia, Palestina, and Judea, are these, Sydon, *The sea-port* which standeth in the borders of Zabulon and Nephtalim, or Phœnicia, being a goodly city, and well peopled, and is governed by the Emir or Prince of the Drusians ; who being the offspring of the Christians, which, under the conduct of Godfrey Duke of Bulloine, descended into these parts, do still maintain their liberty against the Turks. The Signor whereof being threatened by the Great Turk, fled to Cosmus Duke of Florence *anno* 1612, leaving his two sons behind him, the eldest to keep Sydon, and the younger to remain in a strong fortress on the west end of Mount Libanus. The eldest brother forthwith yielded to the Great Turk the signory of his lands ; but the younger would never do it ; and so retaineth absolutely the country of Libanus to this day, making himself thereupon a mountainous monarchic prince. Tygrus, which is miserably brought to ruin ; Acre, or Acon, that hath yet some indifferent trade of merchandise, called formerly *Ptolemais* ; Caipha, called commonly *Castello Pellegrino*, which hath nothing but the remnants of an ancient abbey ; Cæsarea, who reserveth only but the memory of ruins ; for there is no hospitality in it, except it be to savage Moors : Joppa, or Japhta, is a sea-port of small

small barks, but the decayed town containeth not one dwelling-house, save only a high tower, which defendeth the port from Corsairs. Here Jonah took ship to fly from God; here Peter raised Tabitha, or Dorcas, from death to life; and when he lodged at the house of Simon the tanner, was in a vision taught the conversion of the Gentiles. And Baruti, famous for so many Christian armies that have besieged it, is now composed of eight hundred fire-houses; lying north-east of Sydon, under Mount Libanus, formerly called *Julia Felix*; nigh unto which (as fabulous stories report) St George delivered the King's daughter, by killing the dragon. It is also thought to be within Canaan, standing in the frontier of Phœnicia, and is the best inhabited place of all the Holy Land, Sydon and Jerusalem excepted.

Saturday morning, before the break of day, setting forward from Lydda, through the curling plains of fruitful Palestine, scarcely were we well advanced in our way, till we were beset with more than three hundred Arabs, who sent us from shrubby heights an expected shower of arrows, to the great annoyance of all our company. For if it had not been that our soldiers shot off their guns on a sudden, and stood manly also to it with their bows and *A dreadful* arrows, for our defence, we had then *conflict.* miserably, in the midst of their ravenous fury, perished. But the nature of the Arabs is not unlike to the jackals; for when any of them hear the shot of a harquebus, they presently turn back with such speed, as if the fiends of the infernal court were broken loose at their heels.

In that momentary conflict, on our side there were killed nine women, five men, and about thirty persons deadly wounded, which to our worthy Armenian captain, and to the rest of our heathenish conductors, bred no small grief; the mourning noise among the multitude being also wondrous pitiful. Till bright day came, we staid still in that same place, expecting the dangerous

ous mutability of our austere fortune; and at our departure thence, we buried the slain people in deep graves, whereby jackals should not open up their graves to eat their corpse. For such is the nature of these cruel beasts, that they only love to live on man's flesh. These ravenous beasts (as is thought) are engendered of a fox and a wolf.

Proceeding in our journey, we entered about two of the clock in the afternoon, into the hilly country of Judea, having two of their courses to Jerusalem, which is about twenty English miles, leaving Rama on our right hand*, which containeth two hundred dwelling-houses, of one story high, and ten miles distant from Joppa, from which it lieth in the way to Jerusalem. Here remaineth the Dragoman, a Christian, who receiveth and conveyeth the pilgrims to Jerusalem, which land at Joppa. Each pilgrim paying seven zechins of gold, is furnished with an ass to ride on, all the way-tributes, at going and coming, being discharged by their conductor, to whom they resign this tributary money.

Rama is a town inhabited by Christians, Arabs, and Moors; not black Moors, as the Africans are, but they are called *Mori*, which are a kind of Egyptians, and not naturally black, but sun-burnt with the parching heat. The whole territory of Canaan is inhabited with these Moors, some Turks, civil Arabs, and a few Christians and scattered Jews. The Arabians are for the

* Rama, or Ramula, anciently Arimathea, twenty-four miles distant from Jerusalem, and twelve from Joppa. This town stands on a little eminence in the midst of a plain, the streets are narrow, and the houses contemptible; but there are several ruins, especially of Christian churches, which are so many monuments of its once better condition. Here are likewise the remains of a monastery built by Philip, the good Duke of Burgundy, for the accommodation of pilgrims, which still retains the name of *Sion-House*, and belongs to the Franciscan convent at Jerusalem. Several Europeans reside in Rama, who trade chiefly in oil, soap, and cotton. — Thompson's travels, vol. 3. p. 249.

most part thieves and robbers; the Moors cruel and uncivil, putting Christians to death; the Turks are the worst of all the three; yet all sworn enemies to Christ. But when they know how to make any gain by strangers, O what a dissimulate ostentation shall appear in these detestable villains, whose outides only they seem to affect, but entirely the insides of their purses; and that is their aim and forcible end: Wherefore they both toil withal, and conduct strangers through many perils, as imminent to themselves as accessory unto our inevitable destinies; time discussing all, and money overmastering time; for coin is the thing they must have, though necessity sometimes may not spare it.

About four of the clock before night, we arrived at Berah, called of old *Beersheba*, being eleven miles distant from Jerusalem. *Beersheba*. Having reposed there a little, giving our camels, mules, and asses, some provender; but we could get nothing for ourselves from these despiteful Moors, (for what we carried with us was all spent), except a little water; we resumed our mountainous way, as cheerfully as we could, for we were exceeding faint, and travelled that day above forty-three miles, whereby we might arrive at Jerusalem before the gates were shut; sustaining great drought, burning heat, pinching hunger, and not a few other such inconveniences.

And now, about half-way between Berah and Jerusalem, I and two Armenians advancing our way a slight shot before the company; we, I say, unhappily encountered with four Moorish fellows, driving before them six asses loaden with roots, and shrubs of wood to burn; who seeing us, as they thought, alone, laid hands upon us, robbed us of our pocket-mones; whereat I resisting, one of them pulled forth a broad knife, and, holding me by the beard, thought to have cut my throat, *A grievous danger.* if it had not been for one of his fellows, who swiftly stayed him.

Well,

Well, they leave us, and following their beasts, our soldiers instantly appeared unto us; whereupon we shouting, the Moors fled to the rocks; and our foot-soldiers following, apprehended two of the chiefs, and brought them to the captain, One of which had my money, which I presently received back again; but my associate's money was with them that escaped. The captain and Janizaries meanwhile carried the two Moors along with them, thinking to execute them at Jerusalem; but their friends and neighbours following fast on horseback, and on foot, relieved them from the Caravan, restoring back again the two Armenians money. Whereat all the Moors were exceeding glad, and we no ways discontented: for if they had not been redeemed, certainly their friends and followers, who were thick flocking together, would have cut us all off before we could have attained to Jerusalem.

At last we beheld the prospect of Jerusalem, which was not only a contentment to my weary body, but also, being ravished with a kind of unwonted rejoicing, the tears gushed from my eyes for too much joy. In this time the Armenians began to sing, in their own fashion, psalms to praise the Lord; and I also sung the 103d psalm all the way, till we arrived near the walls of the city, where we ceased from our singing for fear of the Turks.

The sun being passed to his nightly repose before our arrival, we found the gates locked, and the keys carried up to the Bashaw in the castle; which bred a common sorrow in the company, being all both hungry and weary; yet the Caravan intreated earnestly the Turks within to give us over the walls some victuals for our money, shewing heavily the necessity we had thereof; but they would not, neither durst attempt such a thing. In this time the guardian of the monastery of Cordeliers, who remaineth there to receive travellers of Christendom; who having got news of our late arrival, came and demanded of the Caravan, if any Franks of Europe were in his society; and he said

said only one : then the guardian called me, and asked what nation I was of ; and when I told him, he seemed to be exceeding glad ; yet very sorrowful for our misfortune.

He having known my distress, returned, and sent two friars to me with bread, wine, and fishes, which they let over the wall, (as *A dear night's supper.* they thought in a secret place) ; but they were espied ; and on the morrow the Guardiano paid to the subbashaw, or sanzeck, a great fine, being a hundred piasters, thirty pounds Sterling ; otherwise both he and I had been beheaded ; which I confess was a dear-bought supper to the Grey friar ; and no less almost to me, being both in danger of my life for starving, and then for receiving of food, therefore suspected for a traitor. For the Turks alleged he had taken in ammunition from me and the other Christians, to betray the city. This they do oft, for a lesser fault than that was, only to get bribes and money from the Grey friars, which daily stand in fear of their lives,

Anno 1612, upon Palm-Sunday, in the morning, we entered into Jerusalem ; and at the gate we were particularly searched, to the effect we carried in no furniture of arms, nor powder with us ; and the poor Armenians (notwithstanding they are slaves to Turks) behaved to render their weapons to the keepers : such is the fear they have of Christians. And my name was written up in the clerk's book at the port, that my tribute for the gate, and my seeing of the sepulchre, might be paid at one time together, before my final departure thence.

The gates of the city are of iron outwardly ; and above each gate are brazen ordnance planted for their defence.

Having taken my leave of the Caravan and the company, who went to lodge with their own patriarch, I was met and received with the Guardian and twelve

A foolish ceremony.

friars

friars upon the streets, each of them carrying in their hands a burning wax candle, and one for me also; who received me joyfully; and singing all the way to their monastery *Te Deum Laudamus*, they mightily rejoiced that a Christian had come from such a far country as Scotia to visit Jerusalem.

Where being arrived, they forthwith brought me to a room, and there the Guardian washed my right foot with water, and his vicar my left; that done, they kissed my feet; so did also all the twelve friars that stood by. But when they knew afterward that I was no Popish Catholic, it sore repented them of their labour. I found here ten Franks newly come the nearest way from Venice hither; six of them were Germans, noble gentlemen, and also good Protestants, who were wonderful glad to hear me tell the Guardian flatly in his face I was no Roman Catholic, nor ever thought to be. The other four Franks were Frenchmen, two of them Parisians, old men, the other two of Provence, all four being Papists; with nine other trading Franks also that dwelt in Syria and Cyprus, most of them being Venetians, who were all glad of me, shewing themselves so kind, so careful, so loving, and so honourable in all respects, that they were as kind gentlemen as ever I met withal, especially the Germans. Such is the love of strangers when they meet in foreign and remote places. They had also in high respect the adventures of my half-year's travel east and beyond Jerusalem; troubling me all the while we were together to show them the rare discourses of my long two years survey of Turkey; but especially of my furthest sights in the east of Asia; and were always in admiration that I had no fellow-pilgrim in my long peregrination.

P A R T VI.

*Now come my swift-pac'd feet to Sion's seat,
 And fair Jerusalem; here to relate
 Her sacred monuments, and these sweet places
 Were fill'd with prophets and apostles faces:
 Christ's crib at Bethle'em, and Mary's cave,
 Calvar, and Golgotha, the holy grave:
 Deep Adra's valley, Hebron's patriarch tomb,
 Sunk Lazar's pit, whence he rose from earth's womb:
 Judea's bounds and deserts: that smoking lake,
 Which orient folks do still for Sodom take.
 Thence view'd I Jordan, and his muddy streams,
 Whence I a rod did bring to royal James:
 The lump-fall'n Jericho, and th' Olive Mount,
 With Gethsemane, where Christ to pray was wont:
 The Arabian deserts: then Egypt land
 I toiling saw, with Nilus swelling strand:
 Where for discourse, the seventh part shall thee show
 What thou mayst learn, and what by sight I know,
 Of matchless Egypt, and her unmatched bounds,
 That twice a year in growth of grain abounds.*

Jerusalem is now called by the Turks *Kuddish*, which is in their language a holy city. It was first called *Moriah*, of *Moriah*, one of the seven heads of *Sion*, where Abraham would have sacrificed Isaac, Gen. xxii. 2.; and upon his offering, it was called *Jerusalem*, Gen. iv. 18. It was also named *Salem*, where Sem, or Melchisedick, dwelt. *Jerusalem's* And Jerusalem was also called *Jebus*, antiquity. 2 Sam. xxiv. 16. And it is the place where Solomon was commanded to build the temple, 2 Chron. iii. 1. which afterward was termed *Hieron Solomonis*; whence came, by corruption, that word *Hierosolyma*

rosolyma. David also, in his psalms, gave it divers names. And Jerufalem, in the Arabic tongue, is also called *Beyt almo kadas*. *Beyt* signifieth the house, *almo kadas*, viz. of saints.

Jerufalem standeth in the same place where old Jerufalem stood, but not populous, neither in each respect of breadth or length so spacious : for, on the south side of Jerufalem, a great part of Mount Sion is left without, which was anciently the heart of the old city ; and they have taken, on the north side now, both Mount Calvary, and the holy grave, within the walls which were built by Sultan Selim *. So that thereby the difference of the situation is not so great, though a part thereof be removed ; but a man may boldly affirm, that the most part of this city is built on that place where the first Jerufalem was ; as may truly appear, and is made manifest, by these mountains mentioned in the scriptures,

whereupon Jerufalem is both situate and
The four hills environed about, who preserve their
of Jerufalem. names to this day, and are still seen and
 known by the same ; as Mount Sion,

Mount Calvary, Mount Moriah, and Mount Olivet. The form of the situation of Jerufalem is now like to a heart, or triangle, the one point whereof looketh east, extending downward almost to the valley of Jehoshaphat, which divideth Jerufalem and Mount Olivet ; the second head or point bendeth out south-west upon Sion, bordering near to the valley of Gehinnon ; the third

* The church of the holy sepulchre is founded upon Mount Calvary, which is a small eminence or hill upon the greater mount of Moriah. It was anciently appropriated to the execution of malefactors, and therefore shut out of the walls of the city as an execrable and polluted place ; but since it was made the altar, on which was offered up the precious and all-sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, it has recovered itself from that infamy, and has been always revered and resorted to with such devotion by all Christians, that it has attracted the city round about it, and stands now in the midst of Jerufalem, a great part of the hill of Sion being shut out of the walls to make room for the admission of Cavalry. — Maundrell's travels from Aleppo to Jerufalem.

corner lieth on Mount Moriah, toward the north and by west, having its prospect to the burial-place of the Kings of Israel.

The walls are high, and strongly built with Saxo quadrato, which adorn Jerufalem more than any thing within it, the holy grave excepted. It is of circuit about three miles and a half of our measure. As touching the former glory of this city, I will not meddle withal, nor yet describe, since the scriptures so amply manifest the same. Concerning the lamentable destruction of it, I refer that to the famous historiographer Josephus, who largely discourseth of many hundred thousands famished, and put to the sword within this very strong city, by Vespasian, and

Titus his son, being the messengers of God's just judgements; which, by his computation, did amount beyond the number of eleven hundred thousand. But it is to be understood they were not all at one time in Jerufalem, but came up by turns and times, from the circumjacent countries about, by thousands; and as they were cut off, so their numbers were renewed again as necessity required.

*The triumph
of Titus.*

This city hath been oft conquered by enemies: First, by Nebuchadnezzar, the Assyrian King; secondly, by the Greeks and Alexander the Great, and also marvellously afflicted by Antiochus; thirdly, it was taken in by Pompeius; fourthly, destroyed by Vespasian and Titus; fifthly, it was rebuilt by Adrian the emperor, and won again by Gofdroes the Persian king; sixthly, it was overcome by Homer Gallif, the successor of Mahomet; seventhly, by the great Souldan of Egypt, and by Godfrey du Bulloine, a Christian prince; eighthly, by Saladine the Caliph of Egypt and Damascus, anno 1480, who reserved successively the signory thereof for a long time; and lastly, it was surpris'd by Sultan Selim, or Solyman, the Emperor of the Turks, anno 1517, joining the holy land, together with Egypt, to his empire, who fortified the

*The overthrow of Je-
rusalem.*

same,

same, being by infidels detained to this day ; and in all likelihood shall keep it to the consummation of the world, unless God, of his mercy, deal otherwise than the hopes of man's weak judgement can expect. Whence truly I may say, that when fortune would change friendship, she disleagueth conditional amity with the senseless liturgy of foul ingratitude. This city is now governed by a *sanzeck*, or *subbasha*, being placed there by the Bashaw of Damascus, whose deputy he is ; the other being chief ruler under the Grand Signor over all the holy land and the half of Syria. There is a

The garrison of Jerusalem. strong garrison kept always in Jerusalem, to withstand the Arabish invasions, consisting of eight hundred soldiers,

Turks and Moors, who are vigilant in the night, and circumspect in the day time ; so that none can enter the town without their knowledge, nor yet go forth without their trial. This is a memorable note, and worthy of observation, that at that time when the cities of Jerusalem and Antiochia were recovered from the Pagans, by the means of Godfrey of Bulloine, the then Pope of Rome was called *Urbanus*, the Patriarch of Jerusalem *Heraclius*, and the Roman Emperor *Frederick* ; and at the same time, and long

A notable observation. thereafter, when Jerusalem was re-enthralled, and seized upon by Saladine, the Pope's name was *Urbanus*, the Patriarch of Jerusalem *Heraclius*, and the

Roman Emperor *Frederick*. After Herod the Idumean, son to Antipater, in whose time Christ was born, Archelaus, Agrippa Herod, who imprisoned Peter and James, and was eaten of vermine, in whose time Christ suffered, and Agrippa Minor, (before whom Paul pleaded), the last King of the Jews, had reigned, being strange kings. In the last king's time Jerusalem was overthrown, and the kingdom made a province of the Roman empire *anno* 37. After which desolation, the Jews were dispersed over all the world ; but afterward, in a zealous consideration, were banished from the most part of the Christian kingdoms. Out of France they were

were expelled by Philip the Fair, *anno* 1307; out of Spain by Ferdinando the Catholic, 1492; out of Portugal by Emanuel, 1497; out of England by Edward V. 1290; out of Naples and Sicilia by Charles V. 1539. Yet they are found in great numbers in divers parts of Germany, Poland, and in some cities of Italy; as Venice, and her territories, Florence, and the jurisdiction thereof, the principalities of Parma, Mantua, Modena, Urbino, and their extending limits, and finally Rome, (besides her ecclesiastical Papacy), wherein there are no less than twenty thousand of them. They are also innumerable over all the Turkish dominions, who so disregard and hate them for the crucifying of Christ, that they use to say, in detestation of any thing, "I would I might die a Jew." Neither will they permit a Jew to turn Turk, unless he first be baptised; and yet live where they will, the most part of them are the wealthiest people in the world, having subtle and sublime spirits. Now for the several kings and rulers of Judah and Israel, beginning at Moses, the judges of the Jews were sixteen, of whom Samuel was the last; at which time the people desired to have a king like unto other nations.

The kings of the Jews were three, Saul, David, and Solomon; and the kings of Judah were twenty, Zedekiah being last, in whose time Nebuchadnezzar destroyed Jerusalem. Of the kings of Israel there were seventeen, of whom Osias was the last, in whose time the Israelites were carried captives into Assyria by King Shalmanezar.

*The Jewish
kings.*

The Dukes or governors of Jewry were fifteen, of which Joannes Hircanus was the last governor of Judea, which descended from the stock of David. During the government of which captains, after the Babylonian captivity, the Jewish kingdom was plagued on both sides by the Kings of Egypt and Syria, who slaughtered their people, ransacked their cities, made

*Dukes of
Jewry.*

havock of their goods, and compelled them to eat forbidden flesh, and sacrifice to idols.

To reform which enormities, Mattathias and his five sons valiantly resisted, and overcame the impetuous fury of Antiochus Epiphanes, and his Syrians. Whereupon the Jews chose Judas, surnamed *Machabeus*, for their captain, one of the world's nine worthies, who, though not of the line of David, was yet of the tribe of Judas.

The Machabean princes of Jewry were only four, *Joannes Hircanus* the last, who was *The Macha- slain by the Parthians. Of the Macha- bean princes.* bean kings of Judea were other four, of whom Hircanus, son to Alexander Tyrant, was the last; who being disturbed in his reign by Aristobulus, his younger brother, with his sons Alexander and Antiochus, he was firmly established in his throne by Pompey, and the other carried captives to Rome. But afterward Alexander and Antiochus escaping, the one by policy, the other by favour of Julius Cæsar, villanously abused Hircanus. The former was slain by Scipio, and the latter, for his villany, was slain by Marcus Antonius, and the kingdom given to a stranger, Herod, born in Askelon of Idumea, as I formerly recited; of which strange kings there were four.

Christian The Christian kings of Palestine, beginning at Godfrey of Bulloine, were *kings of Je- nine. Guy of Lyfingham, being the last rusalem.* king of Jerusalem, and was surpris'd by Saladine of Egypt, 1187.

And lastly, At this present time, the emperors of the line and race of Ottoman, are Lords and kings over Jerusalem, and the crossed, or rather now cursed land of Canaan: In whose hands it is faster kept, than the seventeen Belgian provinces remain totally subject to the Spanish power.

But to the intent the reader may the better conceive, and plainly understand, the monuments I saw within Jerusalem, and the circumjacent places of Judea, I thought

thought best to prefix the description thereof, by the several days I saw them, not much condemning, neither absolutely qualifying them, but shall (as it were) neutrally nominate and recapitulate these places, as I was informed by the Padre Guardiano, Gaudentius Saybantus, a Veronesen born; whence he, and every one of them, every third year, are changed and recalled back to Christendom, and other new friars sent in their places. And especially the information of John Baptista the Trenchman, who dwelt and had staid twenty-five years in Jerusalem, and from whom the friars themselves have their informations; for a stranger that understandeth not promptly the Italian tongue, which they usually speak, when they demonstrate these places unto us, he shall conceive ignorantly, dispose his judgment blindfoldly, and knows not how to distinguish the circumstances, and qualities of the things delivered; as I have known some of these Franks in my company, simply mistaken, even when the exposition of every object was largely manifested unto them, and precisely declared such a thing to have been there, although perhaps the matter itself be vanished and transported.

The ignorance of travellers.

About two of the clock on Palm-sunday after dinner, for all of us eat, drank, and lay in the monastery, each of us paying a piafter a-day for our diet, six shillings Sterling, besides all other costs and charges; the Guardian, I say, departed from Jerusalem to Bethpage, accompanied with twelve friars, and many other oriental Christians, which were come thither to that festival time; but I by no means would go, neither would the six Germans, but reposing ourselves on the top or platform of the cloyster, we staid till their return. And yet from this place, we saw their back-coming from Bethpage, as they crossed the lower and south side of Olivet, going downward toward the valley of Jehoshaphat, to ascend Mount Sion, for the greater performance of the foolery.

The ridiculous ceremony which that day they use, is

thus : In an apish imitation of Christ, at the foresaid Bethpage, there was an afs brought to the Guardiano, whereupon he mounted, (being, as it were, the greater afs riding upon the lesser), and came riding to Jerusalem, the people cutting down boughs of trees, and also despoiling themselves almost to the skin,

A superstitious ceremony.

bestrewed the way as he rode along, crying, "Hosanna, Hosanna, to the Son of David; blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord;" until they came to

the south-gate of Sion, where the guardian thought to have entered, riding through Jerusalem to his monastery, with this shouting convoy of six thousand oriental Christians, because their patriarchs have not that liberty to do so, as this Italian guardian. Notwithstanding, the clamour of the people incensed so the Turkish garison lying at this gate, that they not only abused the poor Christians in their ignorant devotion, but they pulled the guardian also from the afs's back, beating him most cruelly, and all the rest of the friars and Frank pilgrims that were with him; where at last entering the convent, most of them came in groaning, and loaden with black and bloody blows; whereat I and the other protestants did laugh in our sleeves, to behold their foolish processions so substantially rewarded. At night, after supper, the Guardiano knowing that I was a protestant, and also these other Germans, made an oration, saying, "You pilgrims, who refuse to be participant with us in the sacraments, nor will not adhere to our masses, processions, and ceremonies, which we follow of the Roman church, I, would therefore intreat you (your liberty being here as much as mine, whereby you may do as you please), only to abstain from scandalizing and mocking our rites and ordinary customs, which at this great feast we must perform." To which we condescended, and promised to give no occasion of offence; seeing our outward carriage in going along with them to see their customs, tended no way to hurt the inward dispositions of our souls.

In the conclusion of his long exhortation, he disclosed

fed this admonition, faying, "All of you travellers must in general be endued with these three worthy gifts, faith, patience, and money: Faith to believe these things you shall see hereat and about Jerufalem; patience to endure the apparent injuries of infidels; and money to discharge all tributes and costs, which here, (meaning in his own monastery), and about this city, must be defrayed." His sermon he concluded like a Gray friar, as indeed he was; for I am fully persuaded, he little cared for our faith and patience, providing that our purses could answer his expectation, as truly we found the just trial thereof afterward; making our patience to startle, our faith to overtop his lies, and our money to be a slave to his greed; and we left the last tributary spoils of two extortionable flatterers, Avarice and Ignorance, with the which our reverend guardian was fully invested.

Monday early, we pilgrims went forth to view the monuments within the city, being accompanied with the Padre Viccario, and a French predicatore. The places of any note we saw, were these: First, they shewed us the place where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalen, who said, "Touch me not, for I am not yet ascended to my Father," John xx. 17.; and this place by them is supposed to be the centre, or middle part of the world. Next, where St James, the first bishop of the primitive church, was beheaded; then the house of St Thomas, but that is doubtful, (say they); because it is not yet confirmed by the papal authority. From thence they brought us to the place where Annas, one of the high priests dwelt, and also the tree to which our Saviour was bound, while Annas was making himself ready to lead him to Caiphas; but that I will not believe, for that tree groweth yet, being an olive-tree. They shewed us also the house where St Peter was imprisoned, when his fetters were shaken off his legs, and the prison-doors cast open, and he relieved; and where Zebedeus, the father of James and John, dwelt, which are nothing but a lump of ruins.

Thence

Thence we came to the decayed lodging of Caiaphas, without the city, upon Mount Sion, whereupon there is a chapel builded; and, at the entry of that little *domo*, we saw the stone on which the cock crew when Peter denied Christ. Within the same place is the stone that was rolled to the sepulchre-door of our Saviour, being now made an altar to the Abbafines. These Abbafines are generally born black; and these silly religious men do stay at Jerusalem in two places, to wit, here at Caiaphas's house on Mount Sion, and the other convent on Mount Moriah, where Abraham would have sacrificed Isaac. They wear on their heads flat round caps of a blackish colour, and on their bodies long gowns of a white dimity, or linen cloath, representing ephods; the condition of themselves being more devout than understanding the true grounds of their devotion, blind zeal and ignorance overswaying their best light of knowledge; they being a kind of people which came from Prester John's dominions.

And within that chapel they shewed us a narrow pit, wherein (say they) Christ was incarcerated the night before he was brought to the judgement-hall. Upon the same side of Sion, we saw the place where Christ did institute the sacraments; and not far hence, a decayed house, where (say they) the Holy Ghost descended upon the apostles, and also the sepultures of David, and his son Solomon: over the which there is a mosque, wherein no Christian may enter to see these monuments; for the Turks do great reverence to most of all the ancient prophets of the Old Testament.

From thence we returned, and entered into *via dolorosa*, the dolorous way, by which our Lord and Saviour passed, when he went to be crucified, carrying the cross upon his back. And at the end of the same street (say they) the soldiers met Simon of Cyrene, and compelled him to help Christ to bear his cross when he fainted. Pilate's judgement-hall is altogether ruined, having but only between the two sides of the

the

the lane, an old arch of stone, under the which I passed, standing full in the highway. Here they shewed us the place where Christ first took up his cross; and on the top of that arch, we saw that place called *Gabbatha*, where Jesus stood when Pilate said to the Jews, *Ecce homo*. *Pilate's judgment-hall.*

A little below this, they brought us to the church of St Anna, where (say they) the Virgin Mary was born. And going down another narrow lane, they pointed into a house, and said, here Dives the rich glutton dwelt, who would not give to Lazarus the crumbs of bread that fell from his table. This I suspend amongst many other things, for all hold it to be a parable, and not a history; and although it were a history, who can demonstrate the particular place, Jerusalem having been so often transformed by alterations?

Thus, I must needs say, with such lying wonders, these flattering friars bring strangers into a wonderful admiration, and although I rehearse all I saw there, yet I will not believe all, only publishing them as things indifferent, some whereof are frivolous, and others somewhat more credible. But, as I said before, I will make no (or very small) distinction in the relation.

From thence we came without the eastern gate, (standing on a low bank, called the *Daughter of Sion*, that overtoppeth the valley of Jehoshaphat), unto an immoveable stone, upon the which they said St Stephen was stoned to death, the first martyr of the Christian faith, and the faithful fore-runner of many noble followers. As we returned to our own convent, they brought us to Mount Moriah, and shewed us the place where Abraham offered up Isaac, which is in the custody of *Abraham's faith.*

Negroes or *Æthiopians*; to whom each of us paid ten madins of brass, the common coin of Jerusalem, for our in-going to that place. And the other monastery that these Abbasines retain, is on Mount Sinai, in the deserts where the body of St Catharine

tharine lieth buried, which is richly maintained, and strongly kept by the Æthiopian emperor. There are two hundred religious Abbases in it, and one hundred soldiers to guard them from the incursions of Arabs,

who continually molest them, because
Mount Sinai. Mount Sinai standeth in the midst of that desolate Arabian wilderness, and far from any civil or inhabited place; being distant from Jerusalem about seventy English miles. Next, they shewed us the place where Jesus said, “Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not for me,” &c.; and, near unto this, where the Virgin Mary fell into an agony, when Jesus passed by carrying his cross: Also not far hence, we beheld the place where (as they say) Jesus said to his mother, “Woman, behold thy son,” and to St John, “Behold thy mother.”

Ascending more upward, they shewed us the house of Veronica Sancta; and said that our Saviour going by her door all in a sweat to Mount Calvary, she brought him a napkin to wipe his face; which he received, and gave it to her again; in which (say they) the print of his face remaineth to this day, and is to be seen at Rome. It is also said to be in a town in Spain, and another of them at Palermo in Sicilia; whereof I believe the one as well as the rest.

So, out of one, if Papists can make three,
 By it they would denote heaven's Deity:
 But O! not so, these three revolv'd in one,
 Point forth the Pope from him his tripled crown.
 He wav'd these napkins, lying rear'd his seat;
 For which this number makes his number great.

As concerning the temple of the Most High, built by Solomon, (the description of which edifice ye may read in 1 Kings vi.), it was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar, at the taking of Jerusalem, *anno mundi* 4450. Secondly, It was rebuild'd again by the commandment of Cyrus,

Cyrus, King of Persia, after the Jews returned from the captivity of Babylon; but not answerable to the state and magnificence of the former: For besides the poverty and smallness of it, there wanted five things which were in the other.

The temple of Solomon thrice builded and destroyed.

First, the ark of the covenant; secondly, the pot of manna; thirdly the rod of Aaron; fourthly, the two tables of the law written by the finger of God; and fifthly, the fire of the sacrifice, which came down from heaven, which were the symbols and badges of God's favour and mercy shown to them and their forefathers in his covenant of love.

This temple afterward growing in decay, Herod the Great (that killed the young infants for Christ's sake, who suffered for him, before he suffered for them) built another much inferior to the first, and superior to the second. And although some authors would have him but to repair the second temple, yet it is most certain, he did even, from the foundation, raise its greatest beauty and glory: for this Herod the Ascalonite was an Edomite stranger, or Idumean, who having gotten the kingdom contrary to the law of Moses, and created king of Jewry by

Octavius Augustus, and knowing these people to be offended therewith, to procure their favour, did build them a

Herod the Idumean's temple.

third temple. This was it in which our Saviour and his apostles did daily preach; and was set on fire by Titus the tenth day of August, on which day likewise the first temple was burnt by Nebuchadnezzar: And lastly, there is another great temple builded in the same place by Sultan Selem Solyman, reserved by Turks, and highly regarded, for the respect they carry to Solomon; near the which, or within whose courts, no Christian may enter, under the pain of losing his head.

This present temple hath two incircling courts, invironed with high walls, having two entries. In the inner court standeth the temple that is composed of five

Selem Soly-
man's temple. five circling and large rotundos, rising high, and incorporate from the ground with round tops; the outward fabric whereof we cannot see, save only Mount Olivet, which is overagainſt the city, and twice as high as Mount Sion.

These are all the monuments which in one day I ſaw within Jeruſalem; but as for Mount Calvary, and the Holy grave, I ſaw them afterward, which in their own place ſhall be orderly touched. As we were ſpending that day in theſe ſights, the Guardian had prepared one hundred ſoldiers, ſixty horſemen, and forty footmen, to take with him the day following, for his convoy to Jordan, and the mountain in the wilderneſs where Chriſt faſted; which is his uſual cuſtom once every year, between Palm-funday and Eaſter, returning again before Good Friday. Theſe places cannot be viewed, ſave only at that time; neither may a pilgrim go along with the ſoldiers, unleſs he give the value of ſeven crowns or piaſters (as a preſent unto the lieutenant, being forty-two ſhillings Sterling; and if the traveller will not go to that charge, he may ſtay there till their return; which I would not wiſh him to do, if poſſible he can ſpare the money, for the ſight of Sodom and Jordan's ſake. That ſame night after ſupper, the Guardian demanded of us travellers, if we would go with him to ſee theſe memorable and ſingular things upon the former condition: To whom we answered, in a general conſent, We would; and ſo paid our money.

A voyage
to Jordan. Early upon Tueſday morning, all the friars and pilgrims being mounted on mules, ſave only myſelf, and two mules loaden with our proviſion of victuals, we departed from the city about our nine of the clock in the forenoon, keeping our faces ſouth-eaſt; and leaving Bethpage and Bethany, on our left hand, we had pleaſant travelling for ſeven miles; but in the afternoon we entered into a barren and deſert country till ſunſetting, where at laſt we arrived at a ſtanding well,
and

and there refreshing ourselves and the beasts, we reposed till two hours within night. After that the captain had cried *Catethlanga*, that is, March away, we set forward, being well guarded round about with our keepers, because we entered into a dangerous way, and a most desolate and sandy soil.

In all this deformed country, we saw neither house nor village; for it is altogether desert, and inhabited only by wild beasts and naked Arabians. Before we came near to Sodom and Gomorrah, by seven miles: (for we behoved to pass by the east end of it, before we could arrive at that place of Jordan which we intended), we, I say, encountered with such deep sandy ground, that the mules were not able to carry our company through: Whereupon they all dismounted, wrestling and wading above the middle part of their bodies, and sometimes falling in over their heads, they were in great danger of perishing, although the robustness of my body carried me through on my feet, relieving also divers time some of those friars and pilgrims that were almost choked and overwhelmed with sand, but not for lack of wine. Even in the midst of this turmoiling pain, (the night being dark), the unwelcomed Arabs invironed, and invaded us with a storm of arrows, which they sent from the tops of little hard hills, whereupon they stood; *A fearful* for knowing the advantage of the *danger.* ground, they took opportunity to give the more fearful assaults: yet they prevailed nothing, (although they wounded some of our soldiers), such was the resolute courage of our valorous defendants. True it is, that in all my travels I was never so sore fatigued, nor more fearfully endangered than I was that night.

A little after midnight, these savages leaving us, and we leaving our troublesome way, we came to the lake of Sodom, and marched along the marine shore above nine miles before we came to Jordan. This lake is called *Lacus Asphaltites*; it yieldeth a kind of slime named *bitumen Asphaltum*; the which bituminous favour
no

living thing can endure; and now *Mare mortuum*, a sea, because it is salt, and *mortuum*, or dead, for that no living thing breeds therein; and more properly for this cause called *the dead sea*, because of itself it is immoveable, such is the leprosy and stability of the water. It is also called so, because if a bird fly over it, she presently falleth down therein dead. And as Solomon reporteth of it, Wisdom x. 7. it smoketh continually; from whence proceed filthy vapours, which deform the fields lying about for certain miles, as it were blasted, scorched, and made utterly barren. This smoke I take to be only the exhalation of Jordan. For this river falling into it, and there ending his course, the two contrary natures cannot agree; the one being a filthy puddle, and the other a pure water, as I shall more fully record.

This lake is eighty miles in length; and according to its intervalling circuit, sometimes two, *The length of Sodom's lake.* three, four, or five miles in breadth: yet the body thereof bending directly south-west, keepeth a glassy course, till it salute the southerly conspicuity of the sandy and stony deserts; being compassed with the rocks of Arabia Petrea on the south; on the north, with the sandy hills of the wilderness of Judea; on the west, with the steep mountains of Arabia Deserta; and on the east, with the plain of Jericho. How cometh it to pass therefore, that the fresh running flood of Jordan, falling evermore into this bounded sea, that the lake itself never diminisheth, nor increaseth, but always standeth at one fulness? Neither hath it any issuing forth, nor reboundeth backward on the plain of Jericho, which is one of the greatest wonders in the world. Wherefore, as I have said, it must needs either exhale to the clouds, or otherwise run down to hell; for if it ran under the rocks, and so burst out in the deserts, it would soon be known; but in all the bounds of Arabia Deserta, which is betwixt this lake and the Red sea, extending to three hundred miles; there is no such thing as brook or strand, much less a river; neither hath it any

any intercourse with the ocean, unless it run through some secret passage of the earth under the wilderness into the Red sea. And that is doubtful, although it may appear probable ; in regard of Nilus, that runneth a hundred miles under the ground in the exterior Æthiopia, and divers other rivers also, after the same manner, obscuring themselves under rocks, mountains, and plains for many miles ; which particulars, by my own experience, I could denote.

But as for this river, the question may arise, Whither ran it during the time of these five cities of the plain, now overwhelmed with water ; or where was the issue thereof ? To this I answer, Was not the hand of the Almighty, that rained down from the heavens fire and brimstone to consume them, able also to drown their situations, and intervalling plains with water ? Yes, and doubtless yes ; and the course of the river keeping still its former condition : And for modern examples, How many cities, mansions, and stations, have been overwhelmed with water ? Nay, innumerable, and so remaining to this day, place, beauty, and being, all defaced ; as now in Scotland near to Falkirk, rests the last and latest memory of such woful accidents, and superabounding disgorgings.

It breedeth nor reserveth no kind of fishes ; and if by the swelling of Jordan, any fishes be carried to it, they immediately die. Although Josephus witnesseth, that in his time there was an apple grew upon the banks thereof, like to the colour of gold, and within was rotten, and would consume to powder ; yet I affirm now the contrary : For there is not such a thing (whatsoever hath been in his days) as either trees or bushes growing near to Sodom by three miles ; such is the consummation of that pestiferous gulf.

Divers authors have reported, that nothing will sink into it, of any reasonable weight, as dead men, or carcases of beasts : but by experience I found the contrary ; for it beareth nothing at all, yea, not the weight of a feather, nor the pile of wi-

Wrong information made.

Q

thered

thered grafs, but it will fink therein, with the which my hands made fundry trials ; and dare approve it to be of truth, in fpite of the lying world, and all doting varieties of ancient relations.

The water itfelf is of a blackifh colour, and at fome times in the year, there are terrible fhapes and fhows of terror in it, as I was informed at Jericho, by the Arabian inhabitants there, which is the neareft town that bordereth thereupon.

This contagious and peftilentious lake of Sodom, re-sembleth much (as may be fupposed) that infernal gulf of hell ; but, in my opinion, I hold it to be the purgatory of Papifts ; for they fay *Limbus Patrum* is near, or in the fecond room to hell, which I think muft needs be Sodom ; for although it be not hell itfelf, yet I am perfuaded it is a fecond hell, having (as fome report) no bottom. Wherefore I conclude thus : that fince papifts will have a purgatory, I abfolutely affirm, it muft be fuch a purgatory as the purging of Sodom and Gomorrah, which was with fire and brimftone, to their deftruction.

About the break of day on Wednesday morning, we paffed by the ruins of an old houfe ; where (as they fay) St John the Baptift remained, when he baptized thofe that came from Jerufalem, and other regions about, which is but the flight of an arrow from Jordan.

Approaching to the bank-fide, we difmounted, and uncloathed ourfelves ; going in naked to the river, we washed us to refresh our bodies ; our foldiers lying a little off from us, as pledges of our lives, and their own fafe-guards, ftaid as bulwarks for our protection, and a continual obligation for two repugnant defences ; time prefenting the awful opportunity of both occafions. In this place, as the Guardian faid, was Chrift baptifed of St John, when the Holy Ghoft came down in a bodily fhape, like a dove upon him, and there was a voice from heaven faying, “ Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleafed.” I faw alfo an apparent-like testimony, of a quadrangled ftone, lying on

on the bank side : whereupon are engraven letters of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, testifying the same thing ; and may be also conjectured, in regard of the ancient habitation of that precursor, which is not far from thence.

This river Jordan, beginneth in Mount Libanus, of two fountains, Jore and Dan, which run separated till they come to the lake Maronah ; and hence it maketh one body, keeping his course through the lake Genne-fareth, and ending in Sodom. The river Tiber at Rome, and Jordan, are not much different in quantity and colour, and not unlike other in their courses ; for Jordan falleth into the old Gomorrah, and Tiber runneth through the new Sodom ; a history of such evidence, as travel taught me by experience : For it is the concourse of priests which breeds in the Italians insolence : If I err, I will beg indulgence of the Pope's au-rear magnificence.

The rivers themselves are both of a muddy colour, and their quantity not far different from other, which Jordan for greatness retaineth ; and the length of their courses much resembles one another. The water of Jordan hath been transported to Venice in barrels, for that purity it hath ; which will preserve unspoiled, both months and years, and the longer it is kept, it is the more fresh ; and to drink it, is an excellent remedy for the fever, Quartan, or Quotidian, being near in virtue to the wine of Lebanon.

Considering the ancient reputation of this famous river, and the rare sight of such an unfrequented place, I climbed up to the top of a turpentine tree, which grew within the limited flood, a little above where I left my company, even naked as I came from swimming, and cut down a fair hunting rod of the heavy and sad turpentine tree, being three yards long, wondrous straight, full of small knots, and of a yellowish colour ; which afterward, with great pains, I brought to England, and did present it (as the rarest gem of a pilgrim's treasure) to his Majesty. But I remember, in the

*A turpentine
rod brought
from Jordan
and given to
King James.*

chusing thereof an unexpected accident fell out : for I being sequestrate from the sight of the company, upon this solitary tree, with broad obscuring leaves, the friars and soldiers removed, keeping their course toward Jericho ; but within two furlongs from Jordan, they were beset with the former nocturnal enemies, who assailed them with a hard conflict : For I hearing the harquebusses go off, was straight in admiration, and looking down to the place where I left my associates, they were gone ; so bending mine eyes a little further in the plain, I saw them at a martial combat ; which sight gave me suddenly the threatening of despair ; not knowing whether to stay intrenched within the surrounding leaves, to wait the events of my auspicious fortunes, or in prosecuting a relief to be participant of their doubtful deliverance. At last considering that I could hardly escape their hands, either there, or by the way going up to Jerusalem, I leaped down from the tree, leaving my Turkish cloaths lying upon the ground, took only in my hand the rod, and shawl which I wore on my head, and ran stark naked above a quarter of a mile, among thistles and sharp pointed grass, which pitifully pricked the soles of my feet ; but the fear of death, for the present, expelled the grief of that unlooked for pain. Approaching on the safe side of my company, one of our soldiers broke forth on horseback, being determined to kill me for my staying behind, yea, and three times struck at me with his half-pike ; but his horse being at his speed, I prevented his cruelty, first by falling down, next by running in amongst the thickest of the pilgrims, recovering the Guardian's face ; which when the Guardian espied, and saw my naked body, he presently pulled off his gray gown, and threw it to me, whereby I might hide the secrets of nature. By which means (in the space of an hour) I was cloathed three manner of ways : First, like a Turk ; secondly, like a wild Arabian ; and thirdly, like a Gray friar, which was a barbarous, a savage, and a religious habit.

*The pilgrim's
three several
habits in half
an hour.*

The

The captain at last entering in parley with the Arabs, by some contributing promises did mitigate their fury, for their compounded acknowledgement was to be sent them from Jerusalem: whereupon we marching toward Jericho, reposed ourselves under a cooling shade, and dined there on the wine and provision carried with us.

After dinner, we arose, and went to the house of Zaccheus, (this was he who sat upon a tree to see our Saviour as he passed by), the walls whereof stand to this day, the covering being only demolished. This new Jericho is now a poor village only of nine dwelling-houses, inhabited by a kind of Arabs, (which are in subjection to the governor of Jerusalem); but I saw many ruinous lumps of the walls, and demolishings of the old town, which is a little from this, distant about a short quarter of a mile. Here I saw two most dainty kind of fruits; the one was a little less, than an apple, but more round, whose colour was like gold without, and within it was white as snow, and sweet like sugar. I would gladly have eaten of them; but the friars forbid me, saying, they were the only pest of death unto a stranger. The other apple was like to a green lemon, long and full of knots, of a reddish colour like to a melon, being both delicate and whole, some of which we did eat, to satisfy the natural appetite, and so did all our soldiers eat of them excessively: their trees growing high and green by a brook side of delicate water, that runneth from the fountains of Elizeus. From Jericho we set forward in the way of the wilderness; our determination being such, as to view the mountain whereon Christ fasted forty days; where arrived, being late, we durst not go up till morning. Wherefore we pitched that night by the fountain of Elizeus, the water of which was of old naturally bitter; but by the prayers of that divine prophet, was restored to a sweet taste. It is good in digestion, and harmless for health; and it is

*Two sorts of
rare fruits.*

Elizeus fountain.

the lightest water the earth yields. Having on the morrow filled a boar's skin of it, to carry with me to the mountain, I found it so light, that I had no weight nor pain in the bearing of it on my shoulders; notwithstanding the way of itself was fatiguing. This mountain is called *Quarantanam*, or *Quaranto*, be-

*Where Christ
fasted forty
days.*

ing of height, by the computation of my painful experience, above six miles, and groweth from the bottom still smaller and smaller, till that the top is covered with a little chapel, not unlike to the proportion of a pyramid.

There is no way to ascend upon this hill, save one, which hath been hewen out of the rock, by the industry of men skilled in masonry; (which was done at the cost of Queen Helen), going up by the degrees of forty-five turns. In all our company there were only one friar, four Germans, and I, that durst attempt to climb the mountain.

Thursday early, at the break of day, we six set out for the mountain, leaving our soldiers to guard the passage below, lest some straggling Arabs should have stolen after us for our destruction. Where, after divers turnings, traversings, and narrow foot-passages, having come with great difficulty to the top, we entered first into an umbrageous cave, joining to and under the chapel, where the friar told us, that in this place Christ did fast forty days; and here it was where he rebuked Satan. The chapel which covereth the top of this high and steep rock, is covered, and also beautified, with an old altar; between the outward sides whereof, and the craggy face of this mountain, two men may only go side to side; here we dined, and refreshed ourselves with water that I carried on my back hither; from which place we saw the most part of all the Holy Land, except the north parts of Judea, Palestine, and Phœnicia, and a great way in the two Arabias, Petrea and Deserta, and all the length of Jordan, even from Sodom to Maronah.

At

At last in our return and fearful descending, there would none of us go down foremost: For although the friar led us freely upwards, yet first downward for his life he durst not go; and that because at the narrow end of every turning, there was always between the upper and the lower passage, about my height, and somewhere twice my height, of the flat face of the rock, whereon there was nothing but dimples and holes to receive our feet, which in descending was dangerous. Now the greatest danger, at every turn, was in the down-going of the foremost, who was to receive them all one by one, and foot their feet in the shallow dimples; of which, if any of them had missed, his sliding down had carried them both over the rock.

*Dreadful
danger in de-
scending the
Quaranta-
ram.*

Now, for the Noble Germans sake, two of whom were great barons, Signor Strowse and Signor Crushen, and born vassals to the Marquis of Hanspach, I resolved to embrace the danger; where down I went, receiving every one of them at every turn, first leading their feet by my hands, and then by enveloping them with my arms. Well, having passed half-way downwards, we came to the most scurril and timorous descent of the whole passage, where, with much difficulty, I set safe the four Germans, in our narrow road hewn out of the craggy hill; and then was to receive the friar. Whence he coming down from above, with his belly and face to the rock, holding his hands grumbling above, the fellow fell a-trembling; and as I was placing his feet in the holes, distempered fear brought him down upon me with a rushing hurl. Whereupon straight I mainly closed with my left arm his body fast to the rock, keeping strongly my right shoulder to the same place; for I could not have saved myself, and letting him fall, but he would have caught me headlong with him over the rock: and yet the Germans cried still to me, *Lascia ti quel furfanto cascar alla fondo con il Diavolo, e salva caro fratello la vita vostra*, viz. "Let that villain fall to the ground with the devil, and save

save, O dear brother, your own life." But I neither would nor durst. At last his fear, by my encouragement, having left him, I suffered him to slide softly down, between my arms and the rock, to the solid path; where, by and by, he fell down upon his knees, and gave me a thousand blessings, vowing for this he would do me a great good deed before I left Jerusalem.

At last, towards the afternoon, we safely arrived at the foot of the mountain; and having saluted the Guardian, and all the rest, who then were ready to take journey, the friar told his Reverence how I had saved his life; whereupon the Guardian, and the other friars, did embrace me kindly in their arms, giving me many earnest and loving thanks.

And now the soldiers and we being advanced in our way, as we returned to Jerusalem, we marched by an old ruinous abbey, where (say they) St *Jerom's* Jerom dwelt, and was fed there by wild *abbey.* lions. Having travelled sore and hard that afternoon, we arrived at Jerusalem an hour within night, for the gate was kept open on purpose for us and our guard; and entering our monastery, we supped, and rested ourselves till midnight, having marched that half-day more than thirty-four miles. A little before midnight, the Guardian and the friars were making themselves ready to go with us to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, called *Sancto Salvatore*; where we were to stay Good Friday and Saturday, and Easter Sunday till midnight. They took their cook with them also to dress our diet, carrying wine, bread, fishes, and fruits, hither in abundance. Meanwhile a Jew, the Trenchman of the Turkish sanzeck, came to the monastery, and received from every one of us pilgrims, first two zechins of gold for our several heads and entry at Jerusalem, and then nine zechins a-piece for our ingoing to the Holy Grave, and a zechin of gold a man to himself the Jew, as being due to his place.

Thus was there twelve zechins from each of us dispatched

patched for the Turk. And lastly, one and all of us behoved to give to the Guardian two zechins also for the wax-candles and fooleries he was to spend, in their idle and superstitious ceremonies, these three aforefaid nights; which amounted in all, to every one of us, to fourteen zechins of gold, six pounds six shillings Sterling. So that in the whole, from the six Germans, four Frenchmen, and nine trading Franks in Cyprus and Syria, Venetians and Ragufans, and from myself, the sum arose, for this night's labour, to a hundred and twenty-six pounds Sterling.

*Our tributes
for the Holy
Grave.*

This done, and at full midnight, we came to the church, where we found twelve venerable-like Turks, ready to receive us, sitting in the porch without the door; who forthwith opened at random the two great brazen halves of the door, and received us very respectfully. We being within, the door made fast, and the Turks returned to the castle, the first place of any note we saw was the place of unction, which is a four-squared stone, inclosed about with an iron revel, on which (say they) the dead body of our Saviour lay, and was imbalmed, after he was taken from the cross, while Joseph of Arimathea was preparing that new sepulchre for him, wherein never man lay; from thence we came to the Holy Grave, leaving Mount Calvary on our right hand, toward the east end of the church; for they are both contained within this glorious edifice.

The Holy Grave is covered with a little chapel, standing within a round choir in the west end of the church. It hath two low and narrow entries. As we entered the first door, three after three, and our shoes cast off, for these two rooms are wondrous little, the Guardiano fell down, Ingenochiato, and kissed a stone whereupon he said the angel stood, when Mary Magdalene came to the sepulchre, to know if Christ was risen on the third day as he promised. And within the entry of

*The Holy
Grave.*

of the second door, we saw the place where Christ our Messias was buried; and prostrating ourselves in great humility, every man, according to his religion, offered up his prayers to God.

The sepulchre itself is eight feet and a half in length, and advanced about three feet in height from the ground, and three feet five inches broad, being covered with a fair marble stone of white colour.

In this chapel, and about it, I mean without the outer sides of it, and the inward encirclings of the compassing choir, there are always burning above fifty lamps of oil, maintained by Christian princes, who stand most of them within incircling bands of pure gold, which is exceeding sumptuous, having the names of those who sent or gave them engraven upon the upper edges of the round circles; each of them having three degrees, and each degree depending upon another, with supporters of pure gold, rich and glorious; the fairest whereof was sent thither by King John of England, whereon I saw his name, his title, and crown, curiously indented. I demanded of the Guardiano, if any part of the tomb was here yet extant? who replied, There was; but because (said he) Christians resorting thither, being devoutly moved with affection to the place, carried away a good part thereof, which caused St Helen inclose it under this stone, whereby some relicks of it should always remain. I make no doubt but that same place is Golgotha, where the holy grave was, as may appear by the distance between Mount Calvary and this sacred monument, which extendeth to forty of my paces. This chapel is outwardly decorated with fifteen couple of marble pillars, and
The glorions twenty-two feet high; and, above the
chapel of the upper coverture of the same chapel,
Holy Grave. there is a little six angled turret, made of cedar-wood, covered with lead, and beautified with six small columns of the same tree. The chapel itself standeth in a half-circle, or half-moon, having the little door or entry looking east to the great body of the church, and to Mount Calvary, being opposite

posite to many other venerable monuments of memorable majesties.

The form of the choir wherein it standeth is like unto that ancient Rotundo in Rome, but a great deal higher and larger, having two gorgeous galleries, one above another, and adorned with magnificent columns, being open at the top, with a large round; which yieldeth to the heavens the prospect of that most sacred place.

In which second gallery we strangers reposed all those three nights we remained there, whence we had the full prospect of all the spacious church; and all the oriental people were there at this great feast of Easter-day, being about six thousand persons. From this curious carved chapel we returned through the church to Mount Calvary; to which we ascended by twenty-one steps; eighteen of them were of marble, and three of cedar-wood: where, when we came, I saw a most glorious and magnificent room, whose covert was supported all about with rich columns of the porphyry-stone, and the overceilings loaden with mosaic work, and overgilded with gold, the floor being curiously indented with intermingled alabaster and black shining parangone. On my left hand I saw a platformed rock, all covered with thick and engraven boards of silver; and in it a hole of a cubit's deep, in which (say they) the cross stood whereon our Saviour was crucified; and on every side thereof a hole for the good and bad thieves, who were then put to death with him. Descending from Mount Calvary, we came to the tomb of Godfrey du Bulloine, who was the first proclaimed Christian King of Jerusalem, and refused to be crowned there; saying, It was not decent the servant's head should be crowned with gold, where the master's head had been crowned with thorns; having this inscription engraven on the one side.

*The beauty of
Mount Cal-
vary.*

“ Hic

Two famous sepulchres. “Hic jacet inclytus Godfridus de Bulloin, qui totam hanc terram acquisivit cultui divino: Cujus anima requiescat in pace.”

And overagainst it is the tomb of King Baldwin his brother, which hath these verses in golden letters, curiously indented:

*Rex Baldevinus, Judas alter Machabeus,
Spes patriæ, vigor ecclesiæ, virtus utriusque;
Quem formidabant, cui dona, tributa ferebant,
Cæsar, Ægypti Dan, ac homicida Damascus.
Proh dolor! in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.*

The other things within the church they shewed us were these, a marble pillar, whereunto (say they) our Saviour was bound, when he was whipped and scourged for our sakes; the place in a low cellar, about fourteen stone degrees under the ground, where the cross was hid by the Jews, and found again by St Helen; the place where Christ was crowned with thorns, which is reserved by the Abassines, and where the soldiers cast lots for his garment; the place where he was imprisoned, whilst they were making of his cross, and

Where Christ was nailed to the cross. where the cross being laid along upon the ground, our Saviour was nailed fast to it; the rock which (as they say) rent at his crucifying, which is more likely to be done with hammers, and set one

piece a foot from another; for the slit looks as if it had been cleft with wedges and beetles. And yet the sacred scriptures say, that it was not a rock, but the temple, that did rent in two from the bottom to the top, wherein these silly foul-sunk friars are merely blinded, understanding no more than lying traditions, perfecting this their national proverb,

*Con arte, et con inganno, ci vivono mezzo l' anno;
Con inganno, et con arte, ci vivono l' altera parte.*

With

With guile and craft they live the one half-year;
With craft and guile the other half as clear.

And lastly, they take upon them, below Calvary, to shew us where the head of Adam was buried. These and many other things, are so doubtful, that I do not register them for truth, (I mean in demonstrating the particular places), but only relate them as I was informed.

There are seven sorts of nations, different in religion and language, who continually (during life) remain within this church, having lodgings in cloysters joined to the walls thereof. Their victuals are brought daily to them by their familiars, receiving the same at a great hole in the church-door; for the Turks seldom open the entry, unless it be when pilgrims come, save one hour's space only, every Saturday in the afternoon, and at some extraordinary festival days; and yet it doth not stand open then, but only opened to let strangers in, and shut again. For this purpose, each family has a bell fastened at their lodging, with a string reaching from thence to the church-door, the end whereof hangeth outwardly; by the which commodity each furnisher ringing the bell, giveth warning to his friends to come to receive their necessities; for through the body of the church they must come to the porch-door, and return from it, to the cloyster.

Seven religious families

The number of those who are tied to this austere life are about three hundred and fifty persons, being Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Ethiopians, Jacobines, a sort of circumcised Christians, Nestorians, and Chelfanes of Mesopotamia.

The day before the resurrection, about the hour of midnight, the whole sects and sorts of Oriental Christians (that were come thither in pilgrimage, and dwelt at Jerusalem) convened together, which were about the number of six thousand men, women, and children: for being separated by the patriarchs in two companies, they

they compassed the chapel of the Holy Grave nine times, holding in their hands burning candles. In the beginning they made pitiful and lamentable regrettings; but in the ending there were touking of kettle drums, founding of horn-trumpets, and other instruments, dancing, leaping, and running about the sepulchre, with an intolerable tumult, as if they had been all mad or distracted.

Thus is the progress of their procession performed in mere simplicity, wanting civility and government. But the Turks have a care of that; for in the midst of all this hurley-burley, they run amongst them with long rods, correcting their misbehaviour with cruel strokes; and so these slavish people, even at the height of their ceremonious devotion, are strangely abused.

But our procession begun before theirs, and with a greater regard, because of our tributes. The Turks that were guarding us, not suffering the other Christians to be participant in the singular dotage of the Romish folly, which was after this manner. First the Guardian and his friar, brought forth a sacristia, allotted for the same purpose, the wooden portraiture of a dead corpse, representing our Saviour, having the resemblance of five bloody wounds; the whole body of which image was covered with a cambric veil: where, having therewith thrice compassed the chapel of the Holy Grave, it was carried to Mount Calvary; and there they imbalmed the five timber holes with salt, oil, balm, and odoriferous perfumes.

Then the Guardian, and the other twelve friars, kneeled down, and kissed each one of the five suppositive wounds; the Turks meanwhile laughing them to scorn in their faces, with miserable derision. Thence they returned, and laid the senseless block upon the Holy Grave; whence being dismissed, the Papal ceremony ended.

Truly hereupon may I say, if the Roman Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans, there resident in certain special

special parts of the Turk's dominions, had only behaved themselves as their politic charge required, and dismissed from the Paganish eyes only their idolatrous images, veneration of pictures, crosses, and the like external superstitious rites; these infidels, I say, had long ago (without any insight of religion) been converted to the Christian faith. For, besides all this blindness, what infinite abominable idolatries commit they in Italy and Spain, in cloathing the pictures of dead abbots, monks, priors, Guardians, and the better kind of official friars and priests, with robes of sattin, velvet, damask, taffata, long gowns and couls of cloth, shirts, stockings, and shoes! And what a number of lifeless portrayed prioresses, motherless nuns, yet infinite mothers, are erected (like the *Damnab* Maskerata of Morrice-dancers) in silver, *and intole-* gold, gilded brass, iron, stone, tin, lead, *rable super-* copper, clay, and timber shapes, adorn- *stition.* ed with double and triple ornaments, overwrought with silk, silver, and gold laces, rich bracelets, silk, grograin, and cambric veils, chains, smocks, ruffs, cuffs, gloves, collars, stockings, garters, pumps, nose-gays, beads, and costly head-dresses, setting them on their altars, O spectacularious images! adoring them for Gods, in kneeling, praying, and saying masses before them. Yet they are none of their avowed, allowed, and canonized, pontifical saints: for although they be bastards and wooden blocks, yet are they better clad than their lupish legitimate ones; nay, I may say, as the best king's daughter alive. Which is a sinful, odious, and damnable idolatry; and I freely confess, at some times, and in some parts, I have torn to pieces those rich garments from their senseless images and blocks, thinking it a greater sin not to do it than to stand staring on such prodigal profaneness, with any superstitious respect, or with indifferent forbearance to wink at the wickedness of idolaters.

Here the Guardiano offered, for ten pieces of gold, (although my due be thirty zechins, said he) to make me knight of the Holy Grave, or of the order of Jerusalem;

rusalem; which I refused, knowing the condition of that detestable oath I behoved to have sworn; but I saw two of those other pilgrims receive that order of knighthood.

The manner whereof is thus, First they bind themselves with a solemn vow, to pray (during life) for the Pope, King of Spain, and the Duke of Venice, from whom the friars receive their maintenance; and also, in special, for the French King, by whose means they obtain their liberty of the Great Turk to frequent these monumental places. Secondly, they are sworn enemies to Protestants, and others who will not acknowledge the superiority of the Roman church. Thirdly, they must pay yearly some stipend unto the order of the Franciscans. These attestations ended, the friar putteth a gilded spur on his right heel, causing the young-made knight stoop down on his knees, and lay his hands on the Holy Grave; after this he taketh a broad sword from under his grey gown, (being privately carried for fear of the Turks), which is (as he said) the sword wherewith victorious Godfrey conquered Jerusalem, and giveth this new upstart Cavalier nine blows upon the right shoulder. Lo here the fashion of this Papistical knighthood, which I forsook.

Indeed upon the knighthood they have certain privileges among the Papists, of which these are two. If a malefactor be condemned and brought to the gallows, any of these knights may straight cut the rope, and relieve him; the other is, they may carry and buy silks through all Spain and Italy, or elsewhere, and pay no custom, neither in coming nor going, nor for any silk ware, where the Romish church hath any commandment.

After our Guardiano had ended his superstitious rites and ceremonies, upon Easter-day, before midnight, we returned to the monastery, having staid three days within that church; and the next day thereafter, the nine Ragusan and Venetian factors left us, returning back to their several stations.

About

About six of the clock on Monday morning, the Padre Viccario and the aforesaid John Baptista accompanying us, we travelled abroad in the hilly country of Judea. In this day's journey, the places of any note we saw were these: First, where the daughters of Jerusalem came forth to meet Saul, crying,

“Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands;” and for memory of this standeth a certain old pillar of marble. Next, the valley of Trebin, where David slew the great Goliath; and for remembrance of that there is a great heap of stones laid together in the bottom of the valley, like to the relicks of an old monument. Thirdly, Bezura, where Absalom killed his brother Amnon for Tamar's sake; whereof nothing but the name only is reserved.

*Certain re-
licks of mo-
numents.*

Fourthly, the castle of Emaus, now altogether ruined, except only three fire-houses of Moors,

in which our Saviour was known after his resurrection, by the two disciples, in breaking of bread; where now the remnants of that house, being vaulted, is turned over for a shelterage to sheep, and a soft paved lodging for quivering goats.

Emaus.

Fifthly, the valley of Gibeon, where the ray-beaming sun stood still, at the voice of Joshua, from his natural course, Joshua x. 12.

Sixthly, the tomb or burial place of Samuel, that divine prophet of the Lord; over the which the Moors have a mosque erected, wherein we could not enter; but hard by, and without it, we found one of the finest fountains in all Judea; and yet not a dwelling-house near unto it by three miles, in regard of the stinking and infertile ground about it, the water whereof was exceeding light, sweet, and pleasant in digestion.

Seventhly, the tombs of the valiant captain Judas Maccabeus, and his children, whereupon are now only the ruins of an old chapel, which is converted into a hold for sheep and goats.

R

And

The burial-place of the Kings and Queens of Israel.

And lastly, the burial-place of the noble family of the kings and queens of Israel, or Jerufalem, being near unto the city, and within a short half-mile; the entry whereto was so straight, that on our backs we behoved to slide down, about ten paces under the ground, with light candles in our hands.

In that spacious place we saw twenty-four chambers hewn out of a marble rock. Each room hath a hanging stone-door, of a great thickness, so artificially done by the skilful art of masons *, that the rarest spirit of ten thousand cannot know how these doors have been made so to move as they do, being a firm rock both below and above; and the doors have neither iron nor timber work about them; but by cunning are made so to turn; and in that same place where they grew they are squared; yea, and so exquisitely done, that the most curious carpenter cannot join a piece of a board so neatly as these stone-doors join with the rock. In each of these rooms are two sepulchres, wherein I saw the bones of some of these dead princes.

Thursday, the tenth day of my being at Jerufalem, not reckoning the two days we spent in going to Jordan the week before; we, I say, issued forth of the city early, with our aforesaid guides, riding westward. The first remarkable thing we saw was the place (as they say) where the cross grew whereon Christ suffered, being reserved by Greeks, who have a convent built over it. That cross is said to have been of four fundry

* But the most surprising thing belonging to these subterraneous chambers was their doors; of which there is only one that remains hanging, being left, as it were, on purpose to puzzle the beholders. It consisted of a plank of stone, of about six inches in thickness, and in its other dimensions equalling the size of an ordinary door, or somewhat less. It was carved in such a manner as to resemble a piece of wainscot. The stone of which it was made was visibly of the same kind with the whole rock; and it turned upon two hinges, in the nature of axles. These hinges were of the same entire piece of stone with the door, and were contained in two holes of the immoveable rock, one at the top, the other at the bottom. — Maundrell's travels.

kinds of wood, and not of one tree; for they shewed us but one hole where it grew; and so they hold it to have been of one piece of olive-tree. But this I suspend, leaving it to be searched by the pregnancy of riper judgements than mine.

And here I cannot forget a dissembling knavish Greek, who came here to London, about eight years ago, to beg support for the reparation of this decayed monastery of the holy Cross. Well, Gundamore, the Spanish ambassador, entertained him, and recommended his cause to our politic power. A contribution is granted over all England for the same purpose, and also received, besides, the several acknowledgements of our noble courtiers. Opportunity come, I rencountered with this counterfeit rascal in Whitehall; whereupon divers gentlemen, his Majesty's servants, desired me to try him, if he had been at Jerusalem, or dwelt at the cloyster of the Holy Cross. Presently I demanded of him, where the convent stood? He replied, Within Jerusalem, and upon Mount Moriah. Which was false; for the convent is remote from the city about three English miles. I asked him further about the situation of Jerusalem, &c. the quantity of this cloyster, of its church, of the number of friars who lived in it, with many more questions whose circumstances would be tedious. To any one of which he could not reply, but stood shivering for fear and shame; neither had he ever been in Asia, nor these parts: whereupon stealing out of the court, he was no more seen abroad; for he had got at court, and in the kingdom, above twelve hundred pounds Sterling, besides the advancement of the Papists and recusants. And here was a trick that then the Spanish faction put upon us; and themselves also being deceived by a deceiver, deceived us with a double deceit, policy and lies.

*The lying
villany of a
roguish Greek*

Above five miles further, we arrived at a village on the mountain of Judea; where we saw a disinhabited house, in which Elisabeth the mother of St John Bap-

tist dwelt, when Mary came from Galilee to salute her ; and near to this we beheld (as they say) the sanctuary wherein Zacharias was stricken dumb till Elisabeth was delivered. Two miles further, on a rocky mountain,

we arrived at a cave, wherein (say they) *St John the Baptist's grave.* St John did his penance till he was nineteen years of age ; after which time he went down and dwelt at Jordan. It is a pretty fine place, hewn out of a rock ;

to the which we mounted by twelve steps, having a window cut through a great thickness of firm stone, whence we had the fair prospect of a fruitful valley ; and from the mouth of this delightful grotto gusheth forth a most delicious fountain.

Returning thence, we passed over an exceeding high mountain, from whence we saw the most part of Judea ; and to the westward, in the way of Egypt, the castle of the prophet Elisha, and Idumea, the Edomites land, lying also between Egypt and Jerusalem. This cloudy height is called *the mountain of Judea*, because it overtoppeth all the rest of the mountains that environ Jerusalem, Palestine, Galilee, Phœnicia, or Samaria. Descending on the south side of the same hill, we arrived at Philip's fountain, in which he baptized the eunuch of Æthiopia, standing full in the way of Gaza. Here we paid some certain madins unto the Moors of the village, for coming to the place, and drinking of the water. So did we also for the sight of every special monument in Judea.

At night we lodged at Bethlehem, in a monastery of the same Franciscans of Jerusalem, being only six friars. After supper we went all of us (having candles) to the place where our Saviour was born ; over the which there is a magnificent church built ; yea, the most large and royal workmanship that for a church is in all Asia or Africa, being decorated with a hundred and fifty pillars. But before we came where the crib had been, we passed certain difficult ways ; where, being arrived, we entered a gorgeous room, adorned with marble,

ble, sapphire, and alabaster stones; and there they shewed us both the place and the resemblance of the crib; over which were *Christ's crib* hanging lamps of pure gold, and within *at Bethlehem.* their circles oil continually burning.

Not far from that place, and within the body of this admirable church, they shewed us the part over which the star staid, that conducted the three wise men from the East, who came out of Chaldea to worship Christ, and presented gifts unto him. From thence they brought us to a cave without the town, wherein (say they) the Virgin Mary was hid, when Herod sought after the babe's life, from which also (being warned by the angel), she and Joseph fled down into Egypt with the child.

In this time of her fear, say they, the milk left her blessed breasts, so that the babe was almost starved: but she praying to the Almighty, there came forthwith abundance; which overflowing her breasts, and falling to the ground, left ever since, as they alledge, this consequent virtue to this cave.

The earth of the cave is white as snow, and hath this miraculous operation, that a little of it drunk in any liquor, to a woman that after her child-birth is barren of milk, shall forthwith give abundance; which is not only available to Christians, but likewise to Turkish, Moorish, and Arabic women, who will come from far countries to fetch off this earth*. I have

*Admirable
dust.*

* The rocks of this country are in many parts covered with a soft chalky substance, in which is inclosed a great variety of shells and corals. The greatest part of the mountains of Carmel, and those of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, are also covered with a white chalky stratum. In the former are gathered many stones, which being in the form, as it is pretended, of olives, melons, peaches, and other fruit, are imposed upon pilgrims, not only as those fruits petrified, but as antidotes against several distempers. The waters of Jordan and Siloam, the roses of Jericho, beads made of the olive-stones of Gethsemane, the chalk-stones of the grotto near Bethlehem, called the *Virgin's milk*, the little round calculi called her

have seen the nature of this dust practised; wherefore I may boldly affirm it to have the force of a strange virtue. Of the which earth I brought with me a pound weight, and presented the half it to our sometime gracious Queen Anne of blessed memory, with divers other rare relicks also, as a girdle, and a pair of garters of the Holy Grave, all richly wrought in silk and gold, having this inscription at every end of them, in golden letters, *Sancto Sepulchro*, and the word *Jerusalem*, &c.

Wednesday following we hired four and twenty Moors to conduct us unto Solomon's
Solomon's fish-ponds. fish-ponds, which are only three, being never a whit decayed; and to Fons Signatus, whence cometh the water in a stone conduit, along the mountains, that serveth Jerusalem; which work was done by Solomon; the ponds being hewn out, and made square, from the sloping face of a precipitating mountain, through which the stream of Fons Signatus runneth, filling the ponds till it come to its own aqueduct.

Returning thence, and keeping our way southward, we passed through the valley of Hebron, where Jacob dwelt, and entered into the fields of Shechem, where Jacob's sons kept their father's sheep; and not far hence, they shewed us a dry pit, which they called *Joseph's pit*, that was at Dothan, wherein he was put by his brethren before they sold him to the Ishmaelites.

In our back coming to Bethlehem, we saw a cave in the desert of Ziph, wherein David hid himself when he was persecuted by King Saul; and the field Adra, where the angels brought the glad tidings of salvation unto the shepherds. Unto all which parts our Moorish guard, and John Baptista, brought us, and conducted us back again to Bethlehem, where we staid the second night.

pease, and other curiosities of the like nature, are presents which the pilgrims usually receive in return for their charity. — Maundrell and Shaw's travels.

Bethlehem

Bethlehem is the pleafantest village in all Judea, fituated on a pretty hill, and five Englifh miles from Jerufalem. It produ-
The town of Bethlehem.
 ceth, commodioufly, an infinite number of olive and fig trees, fome corns, and a kind of white wine, wherewith we were furnifhed all the time of our abode there, alfo in and about Jerufalem. In our way, as we came back to the city, the next day following, the Viccario fhewed us a little mosque, kept by Turks, in which (faid he) was the tomb of Rachel, Jacob's wife, who died in that place, as ſhe was travelling from Padan-aram with her husband Jacob.

The ruins alfo of a houfe where Habakkuk the prophet dwelt; a turpentine tree growing yet by the way fide, under the which (ſay they) the Virgin Mary was wont to refofe herſelf in travelling. We ſaw alfo a natural rock in the high way, whereon (ſay they) Elias often ſlept: and are not aſhamed to ſay, that the hollow dimples of the ſtone was only made by the impreſſion of his body, as though the tender fleſh of man could leave the print of his portraiture on a hard ſtone. And not far from this, they fhewed us the place where the ſtar appeared to the wiſe men, after they had left Herod to ſeek for the Saviour of mankind.

Approaching Mount Sion, we ſaw a quadrangled dry pond *, wherein (ſay they) Bathſheba, the wife of Uriah, was waſhing, when David looked forth from the top of his palace, gazing on the aſpect of his luſt, gave the bridle of reaſon faſt tied into the hands of temptation; and becoming ſubject to the ſubtilty of fin, was bewitched by her beauty; wherewith corruption triumphed in nature, and godlineſs decreaſed in voluntary conſent, and from a royal prophet fell into the bloody liſts of murder and adultery.

* At the bottom of Mount Sion, without the city, is ſhewn Bathſheba's pool, where ſhe was waſhing herſelf when David ſaw her from the terrace of his palace.—Maundrell's travels.

Overagainst this place, on the north-side of Gehinnon, we saw the ruins of a palace wherein David dwelt, which hath been one of the angles of the ancient city, and standeth at the division of the valley Ennon, which compassed (as a ditch) the north part of Mount Sion, even to the valley of Jehosaphat, and so eastward, being now filled up with fragments of old walls; and the valley of Gehinnon, lying west and east, bordering along the south side of Sion, till it join also with the narrow valley of Jehosaphat, which environeth the east, and sloping parts of Jerusalem. Near to this demolished tower, we saw the habitation of Simeon; who having seen the blessed Messias, said, "Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

And now, lastly, upon the twelfth day of my abode there, early on Thursday morning, the Guardiano, twelve friars, and John Baptista, (because that was the last day of seeing any more monuments, or was to be seen there), accompanied us. As we issued at the south gate of the city, we came to a place, on the skirt of Sion, where (say they) Peter, after his denial of Christ his master, wept bitterly.

Descending by the side of that same hill, we crossed the valley Gehinnon*, and came to Aceldama, the potter's

* A little below Bathsheba's pool begins the valley of Hinnom; on west side of which is the place called anciently *the Potters Field*, and afterwards *the Field of Blood*, from its being purchased with the pieces of silver which were the price of the blood of Christ. But at present, from that veneration which it has obtained amongst Christians, it is called *Campo Santo*. It is a small plat of ground, not above thirty yards long, and about half as much broad. One moiety of it is taken up by a square fabric, twelve yards high, built for a charnel house. The corpses are let down into it from the top, there being five holes left open for that purpose. Looking down through these holes, we could see many bodies, under several degrees of decay; from which it may be conjectured, that this grave does not make that quick dispatch with the corpses committed to it which is commonly reported. The Armenians have the command of this burying-place; for which they pay the Turks a rent of one zechin

potter's field, or field of blood; which is a little four-squared room, opposite to *Aceldama*, the sloping side of the south-falling Sion; three parts whereof are environed with a natural rock; and the four-square bordering with the valley is made up of stone work. The top is covered, and hath three holes, through which they let the dead Christians fall down; for it is a burial-place of pilgrims to this day. As I looked down, I beheld a great number of dead corpses, some whereof had white winding-sheets, and newly dead, lying one above another in a lump. They yielded a noisome smell, by reason they were not covered with earth, save only the architecture of a high vault; by which means the corpse cannot putrify and rot for a long time.

Near unto this campo, we entered into a dark cave, where (say they) the apostles hid themselves when Christ was taken. At the foot of the same valley, we came to Ponto Nehemia; in which place the Jews did hide the holy fire, when they were taken captives to Babylon.

Ponto Nehemia. Walking more downward, toward the valley of Jehosaphat, we saw a dark cellar under the ground, without windows, wherein (said the Guardian) the idolatrous Jews made a sacrifice of their children unto a brazen image called *Moloch*; which being made hot, they inclosed them in the hollownes thereof, and so flew them; and lest their crying should have moved any compassion towards them, they made a thundering noise with drums, and other instruments; whereupon the place was called *Tophet*, mentioned in Jer. vii. 31. Hence we came to the pool of Siloam, in which we washed ourselves; the water whereof falleth down

zechin a-day. The earth is of a chalky substance hereabouts. — Maundrell's travels.

N. B. The only difference betwixt this author and Lithgow is, the one makes five holes, and the other only three. But it may be supposed, that two more might be made, in order to give the place more light or air, since our author visited in.

through

through a rock, from the city above, running straight to the valley of Jehosaphat; and there we saw also the remnant of that sacked tower of Siloam.

Near to this we saw a fountain, where (say they) the Virgin Mary used oft to wash the babe's cloaths and linen clouts. From thence we crossed the brook Cedron, which guttereth through the valley of Jehosaphat, and is always dry, unless it be in December, *Brook Cedron.* when the rain falleth there impetuously for a month together, which is all the winter they have in these parts; during which time none may labour, nor travel, but are forced to keep themselves within houses. Having passed, I say, this brook, we came to the tombs of Absalom and Zacharias, and the cave wherein St James was wont to hide himself from the persecuting Jews. Ascending more upward on the hill, in the way of Bethany, we saw the place where Judas hanged himself; over which there is a vault erected, like a half-moon, in memory of his self-murder; and hard by they shewed us where the withered fig-tree grew, the place being inclosed within a high stone-dike; and half a mile thence we came to the ruined house of Simon the Leper.

Arriving at Bethany, we saw the castle and tomb of Lazarus, on whom Christ shewed a miracle, in raising him from the grave, after he had been four days dead. It is a singular and rare alabaster tomb, and so exquisitely done, that it excelleth (Jerusalem excepted) all the monuments in Judea erected for the like purpose, being inclosed within a delicate chapel under the ground. Not far thence, in the same village, we saw the decayed house where Martha and Mary Magdalene inhabited, and the stone whereon Christ sat (say they) when he said to Martha, "Mary hath chosen the better part."

Leaving this Moorish Bethany, being now a village of no quality, we returned by beggarly Bethphage; and finding it far worse, about mid-day we arrived on the top of Mount Olivet, where we dined on our own provision

vision carried with us, and then proceeded in our fights.

From this place we had the full prospect of Jerusalem : for the city standing upon the edge of a hill, cannot be seen all at one sight, save on this mountain, which is two times higher than Mount Sion. These are the monuments shewn us up-
Mount Olivet and the places of note thereof.

on the Mount of Olives. First, the print of the left foot of our Saviour, in an immoveable stone, which he made when he ascended to heaven. The Guardiano told us further, that the right foot's print was taken away by the Turks, and detained by them in the temple of Solomon ; but who can think our Saviour trod so hard at his ascension, as to have left the impression of his feet behind him ?

Next, the place where he foretold the judgement to come, and the signs and the wonders that should be seen in the heavens before that dreadful day. Thirdly, the place where the *symbolum Apostolorum* was made, which is a fine chamber under the ground, like a church, having twelve pillars to support it. Fourthly, where Christ taught his disciples the *Pater noster*, and where he fell in an agony, when he swate blood and water. Fifthly, where Peter, James, and John slept, whilst our Saviour prayed, and returned so oft to awake them ; and also, below that, where the other disciples were left. Sixthly, the garden of Gethsemane, where Christ used commonly to pray ; in the which place he was apprehended by the officers of the high priests : and here it was also where Judas kissed him, and the sergeants fell backward on the ground. Seventhly, they shewed us a stone, marked with the head, feet, and elbows of Jesus, in their throwing of him down, when they bound him, after he was taken ; and ever since (say they) have these prints remained there.

And lastly, at the foot of Mount Olivet, in the valley of Jehosaphat, we descended by a pair of stairs of forty-three steps, and six paces large, in a fair church built under the ground ; where (say they) the monument

ment of the assumption of the Virgin Mary is, and did show it unto us, who (they think) was born in Jerusalem, dwelt at Bethlehem and Nazareth, and died upon Mount Zion. I saw also there the sepulchres of Joseph her husband, Joachim her father, and of Anna her mother. And for which sight paying sixteen madins a-man to certain Moors, we returned to our monastery against night to repose us, having seen all the antiquities and places of note that were to be seen in and about all Judea.

*Sacred and
singular
tombs.*

Thus have I plainly described all these monuments, by the order of these twelve several days. The like heretofore was never by any traveller so punctually, so truly, and so curiously set down, and made manifest to the intelligent reader. But as I said in the beginning of my description, so say I now also at the conclusion, some of these things are ridiculous, some manifest untruths, some also doubtful, and others somewhat more credible, and of apparent truth. The recapitulation whereof is only used by me, as I was informed by Gaudentius Saybantus, the father Guardian, Lorenzo, Antonio il Viccario, and the Trenchman John Baptisto.

Now, in Jerusalem we eleven Franks staid three days longer, preparing ourselves for a new voyage, to go down to Egypt with a caravan of Grand Cairo. In which time the afore said friar Lorenzo, whose life I had saved on the Quarantanam, complimented me privately with twelve crosses made of the olive wood of Mount Olivet; each cross having twenty-four relicks indented in them, with forty pair of chaplets made of the same wood, two Turkish handkerchiefs, and three pair of garters and girdles of the Holy Grave; all wrought in silk and gold, with divers other things, &c. which were not so thankfully received, as they were thankfully given by a grateful and unforgetful friar.

Meanwhile, the last day of our staying there, we went all of us, friars and pilgrims, in again to the Holy Grave, where we remained all night. Early on the

*The arms of
Jerusalem.*

The GREAT SEAL of the University of CAMBRIDGE
The University of Cambridge
The University of Cambridge
The University of Cambridge
The University of Cambridge

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IERVSALEM
1612



The GREAT SEAL of the Guardian of *MOUNT SION*
Representing the Effigies of the
Twelve APOSTLES and our SAVIOUR
In the Middle of them

the morrow, there came a fellow to us, one Elias A-reacheros, a Christian inhabiter at Bethlehem, and purveyor for the friars; who did engrave on our several arms, upon Christ's sepulchre, the name of Jesus, and the Holy Cross, being our own option and desire: and here is the model thereof. But I deciphered, and subjoined below mine, the *King James's* four incorporate crowns of King James, *four crowns.* with this inscription in the lower circle of the crown, *Vivat Jacobus Rex.* Returning to the fellow two piasters for his reward, I fixed these lines for King James.

Long may he live, and long may God above
Confirm, reward, increase his Christian love:
That he (bless'd king of men) may never cease
To keep this badge, the sacred prince of peace.
And there's the motto of his maiden crown,
Hæc nobis invicta miserunt, ne'er won.

When the Guardian understood what I had done in memory of my prince upon that sacred tomb, he was greatly offended with me, that I should have polluted that holy place with the name of such an arch-enemy to the Roman church. But not knowing how to mend himself, and hearing me recite of the heroic virtues of our matchless monarch; who, for bounty, wisdom, and learning, was not equalled among all the princes of the earth, his fury fell, and began to intreat me to make it known to his Majesty, that he never allowed any support to their afflicted lives; neither any gratuity for maintaining of these sacred monuments at Jerusalem, his subjects being as free here as they; which indeed I performed. For after my arrival in England, and having complimented his Majesty with divers rare things, and a turpentine rod from Jordan, in the midst of my discourses, I told his Highness, in the privy garden of Greenwich, the Guardian's request. Who indeed gave me a most gracious answer, saying, "They never sought any help of him; and if they had,

had, he would have supported their necessity." Bidding farewell to the church of St Salvatore, and being entered again, after breakfast, the reckoning of *stridor dentium* came to us, for seventeen days diet, being to each man six shillings a-day, amounting, for my

Of English money.

part, to five pounds two shillings. Then the Guardian's secretary presented me my patent under their great seal; and that cost me three zechins of gold.

The beginning whereof I remember, although the principal was lost in the inquisition of Malaga, was thus: "Frater Gaudentius Saybantus ordinis minorum regularis observantiæ Sancti Antonii, Dei et Apostolicæ sedis gratia sacri montis Sion Guardianus, Terræ Sanctæ gubernator et custos, ac in partibus Orientis apostolicus commissarius, salutem in Domino sempiternam. Notum vobis facimus," &c. The contents whereof, reciting all the memorable things I saw within the Holy Land; there was thereunto annexed their great seal, sticking fast or locked in upon the lower face of the parchment; the impression whereof had the effigies of the twelve apostles, and Christ in the midst; having this circumscription about, *Magnum sigillum Sacri montis Sion Guardianus*.

Then had we avaricious Baptista, our guide and interpreter, to reward, every one of us complimenting him with two zechins of gold. And lastly, we gratified the gaping steward, the Cerberian porter, the Cimmerian cook, and his Ætnean face, with a zechin of gold the man from each of us, amounting in all, among the four Catzo-cullioni, to twenty-four pounds fifteen shillings Sterling.

Nay, this was not all: For even when the Egyptian caravan was staying for us without the

Greedy and flattering friars.

city, the Guardian made a begging sermon to us, imploring our bounties to commiserate and support their great calamities, losses, and oppressions inflicted upon them by the infidels, with many other base and flattering speeches; which indeed nine of us refused, because

because of the great extortion he had imposed upon us before; but the two German barons gave him the value of six English pounds, or thereabout.

And now, finally, ere I leave Mount Sion, I think it not amiss to give the itching traveller a frozen stomach, who perhaps soweth words in the wind, conceptions in the air, and catcheth salmon swimming on Atlas; I will now, I say, justly cast up to him the charges I defrayed within the walls of Jerusalem, not reckoning my journal-expences and tributes elsewhere abroad; arising to eighteen pounds sixteen shillings Sterling. And there a cooling card for his caprizziat and imaginary inventions; and it may serve also to damnify the blind conceit of many who think that the travellers are at no charges, go where they will, but are freely maintained every where; and that is as false as an heretical error. May 12. and the eighteenth day of my staying there, about mid-day, the other ten and I joined with the caravan, who formerly had bargained with us to carry us to Egypt, and to furnish the rest with camels or dromedaries to ride upon, (for I would never ride on any), for nineteen piasters the man, freeing us also from all tributes and caffars to be imposed upon us by the way; and so we marched through the south-west part of Judea towards Idumea, or the Edomites land; and meanwhile I gave Jerusalem this good night, &c.

*The author's
good night to
Jerusalem.*

Thrice sacred Sion, sometimes blaz'd abroad,
To be the mansion of the living God;
For prophets, oracles, apostles dear,
And godly kings, who rais'd great glory here;
Where Aaron's rod, the ark, and tables two,
And Manna's pot, fire of sacrifice so
From heaven that fell, were all inclos'd in thee,
Containing near what not contain'd could be.
To thee, sweet Sion, and thine eldest daughter,
Which Titus fiercely sack'd with Jewish slaughter,
And

And to thy second birth, rais'd to my sight,
 I prostrate bid thy blessed bounds good night.
 Next for the Holy land, which I have trac'd,
 From end to end, and all its beauty fac'd;
 Where kings were stall'd, dis-thron'd, defac'd, re-
 nown'd,
 Cast down, erected, unscepter'd, slain, and crown'd;
 The Land of Promise, once a sea of oil,
 Whence milk and honey flow'd; yea, to a soil
 Where men, and might, like miracles were rais'd,
 Sprung from a garden-plot: a wonder prais'd
 Above conceit; whose strength did far excel
 All other lands; take thou my kind farewell.
 And last, Franciscan friars, O painted tombs!
 Where vice and lust lurk low, beneath your wombs;
 Whose hearts, like hell, do gape for greed of
 gold,
 That have religion with your conscience fold,
 To you I say a pox, O flattering friars!
 And damn'd deceivers, born and bred for liars,
 Whose end my purse implores; O faithless fellows!
 And leaves you, for your pains, curs'd Haman's
 gallows.

Having bid farewell to Sion, we marched that after-
 noon in the way of Gaza, and arrived at night in a
 goodly village, more full of Jews than Moors, called
Hembaluda, situate on the face of a
Kind Jews to fruitful hill, and the last limit of Judea.
us Franks. Here the Germans and I were well enter-
 tained *gratis*, by certain Jews that spoke
 Italian; and much rejoiced to see such strangers in these
 bounds, for two of them had been born in Venice.
 The captain and our company were all Egyptians, all
 of them being Christians, called *Copties*, viz. believers.
 Their number was about eight hundred persons, who
 had come up from Egypt to dignify, for devotion's sake,
 this Easter time, being the great feast of Jerusalem; of
 whom, by the way, we received great affability, and kind
 respect, without any offence.

That

That night the whole caravan lay in the fields, and we staid within the town, making merry with our Hebraic friends. Early the next morning we resumed our Idumean way, finding this Edomitish land sorely distressed by the Arabs, and yet the inhabitants were subject to the Turk. In this long day's journey we found abundance of water, and all other necessities for our relief; and yet the people were both rude and extremely barbarous, having no more shew of humanity than the four-footed leopards of Berdoa.

The Dutch gentlemen grew afraid at these savages, as being unacquainted before with such an awful sight; and to dispel their fear, Tush, said I; courage, gentlemen; no scope, no hope; and flashed over these lines in Italian to them,

To gallant minds, all kind of foils they be
 Their native land, as fish embrace the sea;
 For they who would traverse earth's various face,
 Must take their hazard, as they find the place;
 And that's my foil, best means can me defray;
 But, Sirs, be glad, we came not here to stay.

Against night we declined towards Gaza, and there staid in a fine cave prepared for travellers; where the whole caravan, soldiers, *The ancient* camels, dromedaries, mules and asses, *city of Gaza.* were all well satisfied and refreshed. The next morning we went to the Bezestan, or market-place, and there furnished ourselves with provision of bread, hens, eggs, garlick, and onions, sufficient enough to carry us through the deserts, being ten days journey. Gaza now is called *Habalello*, and is composed of twelve hundred fire-houses, and fencible against the incursions of Arabs; the ruvid citizens, being Turks, Moors, Jews, domestic Arabians, with a few Georgians and Nestorians.

There is a garrison here of soldiers, and a Turkish captain that commandeth the town and castle. In the afternoon we set our faces forward to that fearful wilderness,

derness, and travelled before night twelve miles, pitching our tents beside a source or standing well. Here our guard kept a strict watch about us all night ; and I kept the Germans from languor, cherishing them with jovial merriments, for they were my inward friends, yet of a faint and fearful nature. At the break of day we set forward, passing through divers rocky and shrubby heights till after noon, and then we declined to a sandy valley ; where, when come, what with the deepness of the way, and the great heat of the sun reflecting from the sand to our faces, we were miserably fatigued, especially I, who went always on foot.

*Burning
sand.*

Having passed this wearisome bottom, and before night, marching along the skirt of a craggy hill, two hundred Arabs broke out upon us from holes and bushes, and greatly annoyed our company with arrows, till a contribution of sixteen piasters was sent to them. The half of that night we pitched our tents in a plain

*Wild Arabs
selling water.* fit for pasture, where some scattered Arabs sold us water in wooden cups, carrying it in wild boar skins upon their naked backs : two of which savages our

captain hired to guide us the next day to the first castle of the three that were built by the Turks, and a day's journey distant one from another ; being each of them strongly guarded with soldiers, and that for the relief of caravans, being the most dangerous, and most desolate place in the deserts.

Our guides, the day following, brought us through the best and safest places of the country, where we found certain profitable parts, planted with hair-cloth tents, and overclad here and there with spots of sheep and goats ; and yet even there we were not free from the invasion of straggling Arabs, and paying of tributes, which the captain defrayed for us, our condition being formerly made so at Jerusalem. Before night, with great heat, and greater drought, we approached to the first castle, where the captain thereof received us kindly, causing our tents to be pitched round

round about the quadrangled tower. Here we had abundance of water (though I would rather have had wine) to suffice the whole company, drawn out of cistern; and reposing safely upon the hard ground, the caste-garrison watched us, and our guard watched them.

The next morning, with a new guide, we marched through a fiery-faced plain, scorched with burning heat, and deep rolling sand, where several of our smallest beasts perished, together with six men and women that were relieving their overwhelmed asses. Long before mid-day, having got to a hard height, we pitched our tents, reposing under their shadows till the evening, for we were not able to endure the intolerable heat of the sun; and in like manner did we overshade ourselves every mid-day. The vigour of the day gone, and the cooling night come, we advanced forward to the middle castle, being led by our guide, and the pale lady of the night leading him: where, when come, we found neither that fort answerable to the former in strength, nor the captain so humane as the former was. Here we were all offended with the scarcity of water; the captain playing the villain, crossed us, because the caravanship were Christians: at last about midnight, thirty Arabs came to us loaden with water, carried on their backs; to whom we paid for every caraff, being an English quart, three aspers of silver, ten aspers going to a shilling. My kind Dutchmen drank too much of it; the water being thick and of a brownish colour, and hot like piss, offended their over-wained stomachs, which, as I supposed, was the chief cause the next day of some of their deaths.

After midnight, the Turkish captain and our Caravan fell at variance about water to our beasts, who were ready to choke; and if they had not been prevented with soldiers on both sides, it had drawn us and them to a final mischief. The discord unpacified, before the following day, and while yet night, we resumed our toilsome and dangerous way, journeying through many

dens and umbrageous caves, overshadowed with mouldering heights : in some whereof we found savage women lying in their barbarous child-bed, having their bodies naked (the fore-face of their womb excepted). Their beds were made of soft sand, and overspread with leaves of a foot thick ; whose new-born babes lying in their arms, were swaddled with the same leaves. And for all their sickness, which was very small, they had none of our wives sugared sops, burnt wines, venison-pasties, delicate fare, and great feasting, nor a month's lying in, and then churched, putting their husbands to great charges. No, no, their food is only bread, garlick, herbs, and water ; and on the third or fourth day, instead of their churching, they go with bows and arrows to the fields again, hunting for spoils and booties from passing caravans.

Savage women having their child-bed in caves.

Advancing in our course, we fell down from the hills in a long bottom of sand, above six miles in length ; wherein, with sore wrestling against the parching sun, and getting no ground to pitch our tents to overshadow us, three of our Germans, the two Barons, Signor Strouse and Signor Cruschen, with one Signor Thomasio, tumbled down from their beasts backs quite dead, being suffocated with the strong heat, for it was in May, choked also with extreme drought, and the reflection of the burning sand ; and besides their fare was grown miserable, and their water worse, for they

The death of three German gentlemen.

had never been acquainted with the like distress before, though it was always my *vade mecum*. Whereupon the Caravan staid, and caused cast on their corps again on their own beasts backs, and carrying them to the side of a hard hill, we digged a hollow pit, and stripped them of their Turkish cloaths : I did, with my own hands, cast them all three one above another in that same hole ; and covering their bodies with mouldering earth, the soldiers helped me to roll heavy stones above their grave, to the end that the bloody jackals

jackals should not devour them ; and to conclude this woful and sorrowful accident, the other Germans alive bestowed on me their dead friends Turkish garments, because of the love and diligent care I always showed them ; which one of their empty mules carried for me to Grand Cairo.

Whence, with divers assaults, and greater pains, coming to the third castle, bewailing as much the loss of our friends, as rejoicing in our own safety, we found this third captain both humane and hospitable ; who indeed himself in person, with his garrison, watched us all night, and had a special care in providing water for us all, giving our captain and us eight franks, with three roasted hens and two capons, before supper. This Turkish captain told us there were three inhabited towns in these deserts, the chief whereof was Sehan, situate on the Red sea, having a harbour and shipping, that trade both to Egypt and Æthiopia, whose commodities are silken stuffs and spices, which they transport from Mecca, and carry to Melincia, and the aforesaid places in Africa. But now, lest I sink in prolixity, discoursing of sinking sands, and make good the Italian proverb, *Chi troppo abbraccio, nulla stringe*, viz. " That he who would embrace too much, can hold nothing fast," I will desist from this journal of our proceedings. However, having already laid open more than half of the wilderness, the reader may easily, (like that learned geometri-
cian, who finding the length of Hercules's foot on the hill Olympus, drew forth the portraiture of his whole body thereby), conjecture, by the former relation, the appearance of the rest of these desert places : the rest therefore I will only epitomize in general, until my arrival at Saleack on the confines of Egypt.

Arabia is bounded on the west with the Red sea, and the Egyptian Isthmus ; on the north, with Canaan, Mesopotamia, and a part of Syria ; on the east, with the Persian gulf, Chaldea, and Assyria ; on the south, with the great ocean, and Indian

The third castle of the deserts.

The bounds of the three Arabias.

fea. This country lieth from the east to the west, in length about nine hundred, and is three thousand five hundred miles in compass. The people generally are addicted to theft, rapine, and robberies; hating all sciences mechanical & civil: They are commonly all of the second stature, swift of foot, wicked, and seditious, boisterous in speech, of a tawny colour, boasting much of their tribal antiquity and noble gentry; notwithstanding their garments are born with them from the bare belly, their food also like to their ruvid condition, and as savagely tame, I protest, as the four-footed citizens of Libya: They are not valiant, nor desperate in assaults, without great advantage; for a hundred Turks are truly esteemed to be sufficient enough to encounter three hundred Arabs: Their language extendeth itself far, both in Asia and Africa; in the former through Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cilicia, even to the mount Caucasus; in the latter, through Egypt, Libya, and all the kingdoms of Barbary, even to Morocco.

This Arabia Deferta, is the place where the people of Israel wandered forty years long, being fed with manna from heaven, and with water out of the driest rocks; in which is Mount Sinai, where the law of

The scurril
Arabian de-
serts. the two tables was promulgated. The most part of these deserts is neither fit for herbage nor tillage, being covered over with a dry and a thick sand,

which the wind transporteth whither it listeth, in heaps and mountains, that often intercept and indanger fatigued travellers. The inhabitants here are few; so are their cities; their dwellings being in sequestrate dens, and hair-cloth tents: The most of their wealth consisteth in camels, dromedaries, and goats.

Before our arrival in Saleack, we passed the little isthmus of ground which parteth Asia and Africa, disjoining the Mediterranean; and the Red seas. Divers have attempted to dig through this strait, to make both seas meet for a nearer passage to India, of whom Seso-

stris

stris king of Egypt was the first ; secondly, Darius the great Persian monarch ; thirdly, another Egyptian king, who drew a ditch an hundred foot broad, and thirty and odd miles long. But when he intended to finish it, he was forced to cease, for fear of overflowing all the lower land, the Red sea being found to be higher by three cubits, than the ordinary plain of Egypt : yet, however it was, the ditch is hollow in divers parts, and troublesome, because of sands, to pass over.

At Saleack we overtook a great caravan of two thousand people, and twelve hundred camels and dromedaries, which were laden with the ware of Aleppo, and come from Damascus, intending their voyage for Cairo, whose company we politicly left, and marched before them, for the receiving of water by the way, for ourselves and beasts, out of cisterns which we left dry behind us.

A dromedary and a camel differ much in quality, but not in quantity, being of one height, breadth, and length ; save only their heads and feet, which are proportionated alike ; and the difference is such, *The nature of camels and dromedaries,* that the dromedary hath a quick and hard reaching trot, and will ride above eighty miles in the day, if that his rider can endure the pain. But the camel is of a contrary disposition ; for he hath a most slow and lazy pace, removing the one foot from the other, as though he were weighing his feet in a balance ; neither can he go faster, although he would : but he is a great deal more tractable than the other ; for when his master loadeth him, he falleth down on his knees to the ground, and then riseth again with his burden, which some times will be marvelously great, sometimes six hundred or eight hundred weight.

The Red sea, which we left to the westward of us, and on our left hand, is not red, as many suppose, but is the very colour of other seas. The reason for which it hath been called *Mare Rubrum*, is only because of the banks, rushes, sands, and bushes, which grow by the

shore-side, which are naturally red. Some others have called it so, in respect of the brooks which Moses turned to red blood, who, misconstruing the true sense, took seas for rivers.

It is vulgarly termed *Sinus Arabicus*, whose length is sixteen hundred miles. This sea is famous for the miraculous passage of the Israelites through it, and the drowning of Pharaoh and his people; and because of spices that were brought from India and Arabia to Alexandria, from whence the Venetians dispersed the same through all Europe, and the Mediterranean coasts of Asia and Africa. But this navigation is now discontinued by the Portuguese, English, and Dutch, who bring home such wares by the back-side of Africa; so that the traffic of Alexandria is almost decayed, and the riches of the Venetians much diminished, so is the virtue of the spices much impaired by too much moisture contracted with the long and tedious carriage thereof.

This afore said Saleack is thought to be seated on the lower and eastmost end of Gozan, consisting of eight hundred dwelling-houses, being walled and fencible against the Arabs, and defended also with a castle, and ten troops of horsemen, being Janizaries. Here we rested and refreshed ourselves two nights, providing ourselves with fresh victuals for Grand Cairo, being four days journey distant; and at our leaving of Saleack, I took leave of this new seen country, with a greedy conceit of more curiosities.

P A R T. VII.

Now well met Egypt, so our fate allots,
 For we have appetite for thy flesh-pots :
 But, ah ! the season is too hot to eat
 Of any viand, kid, mutton, or such meat ;
 Yet for thy coffee made of coave-seed,
 We'll kindly drink it, feed upon thy bread,
 And fat ourselves with thy best herbs, and fruits ;
 For like, to our faint stomachs, best besuits.
 Then mighty kingdom, once the Royal land,
 Where kings were first erect'd, did longest stand ;
 And letters, hieroglyphicks, magic art,
 Astrology had first invention's part.
 For wonders, the pyramids ; balm more good ;
 The weeping crocodile, Nile's swelling flood ;
 Death's funeral mummies ; the sea-horse bred
 At Damietta ; the sphynx with grandeur clad :
 And where base fortune play'd the arrant whore,
 In making mean men great, and great men poor :
 In thee I'll dive, though deep is thine old ground,
 And further far than I can search or sound.
 Yet when men shoot, O all the mark do eye,
 But seldom touch'd ; enough if they come nigh :
 Even so must I, for nearer I'll not claim,
 The best director may mistake his aim.
 But as the land is now, I hope I shall
 Clear hardest doubts, and give content to all.
 Thence sought I Malta, Ætna's burning flame,
 And stately Sicily, Gibel's greatest fame,
 Whence passing Italy, the Alps I cross'd,
 And courting France, told time how I was toss'd.

DEparting from Saleack, and having passed one of
 their courses, which is our twelve miles, we met
 with

with a number of villages on both hands, and on our highway, all builded upon artificial channels drawn from Nilus, and these fabricks only made up of wood or brick, being one or two stories high. The captain, in divers parts at our mid-day's reposing, was constrained to buy water from the Egyptians, to satisfy the company; yea, and that same night, the first of four ere we came to Cairo, at the village of Bianstare, he paid five sultans of gold for watering all of us and the beasts, amounting to thirty-five shillings Sterling.

The next day, May 14. journeying towards a goodly town, named *Saliabsteek*, we travelled through a fruitful plain, full of fruit-trees, and abounding with wheat, rye, and barley, new cut down. For this was their first harvest, the land yielding twice a-year corns; and the latter happens in our December. This land hath, as it were, a continual summer, and notwithstanding of the burning heat, it produceth always abundance of fruits and herbs for all the seasons of the year; so that the whole kingdom is but a garden, having always one fruit ready to be plucked down, and another coming forward. Or like to the best sort of lemon-trees, that as some reap, some are growing green, others budding forth, and some still in the flourish: even so is the beauty and fertility of all the lower Egypt; which although the country be not often troubled with rain, yet the strong dew of the night, in the summer, refresheth all kinds of growing things. Between *Saliabsteek* and Cairo, being two days journey, we Franks bad farewell to water, and drank daily of coffee, made of a seed coava; which being taken hot, and ever kept boiling within furnaces in earthen pots, it expelleth the crudity of fruits and herbs, so much there used.

Arriving at last in this little world, the great Cairo, and bidding farewell to our Caravan, the three Germans and I lodged with one Signior Marco Antonio, a consul there for Venice; the other four Frenchmen went to their own consul, a Marseillian born, and there staid.

staid. Here with this Venetian, for three days, the Dutchmen and I had good cheer, but they far greater, a daily swallowing down of strong Cyprus wine, without mixture of water; which still I intreated them to forbear, but they would not be intreated. The season being cruelly hot, and their stomachs surfeited with burning wine, upon the fourth day, long before noon, the three Dutchmen were all dead; and yet I thought they had no sickness, the red of their faces staying pleasant, their eyes staring always on mine, and their tongues perfect, even to the last of their breath.

*The last three
Germans
death in
Cairo.*

He who died last was William Dierganck, who left me all his own gold, and what the former five had left him. Delivering me the keys of their cloak-bags before the consul, he declared that he left me absolute heir, to intromit with all and whatsoever they had there; but presently the treacherous consul, knowing that I was a stranger to them, and by accident met together at Jerusalem, and that they were gentlemen, and well provided with gold, forged a reason to himself, and for his own benefit, that he would meddle with all they left behind them, under this excuse, that he would be answerable to their friends for it, at his return to Venice. Well, I am left to bury them, and with great difficulty bought them one grave for them all three in a Copti's chapel, where I interred them; paying the Egyptian Christians for that eight foot of ground, ten sultans of gold, besides six piasters for carrying their corps hither, being two miles in the city distant from the consul's house. Before I returned, the Venetian factor had seized upon all, and shutting his gate upon me, sent me out my own budget. Whereupon I addressed myself to the French consul, Monsieur Beauclair, who kindly received me, and having told him the manner how I was greatly wronged and oppressed by the other consul, he straight sent for a Jewish physician, his familiar oracle; where having consulted together, the next day early, we went all three, and their followers, to the beglerbeg,

beglerbeg, or governor of the city. We soon complain-
ed, and were as soon heard; the Venetian consul is

*A favourable
Turkish
judgement.* sent for, and he cometh; where facing
the judge, and pleading both our best
(for there are no lawyers in Turkey every
man speaking for himself), the bashaw

with his council, upon sight of the keys
of their cloakbags in my hands, and my narration
thereupon, (and notwithstanding favouring the factor),
immediately determined that I should have two parts of
their money, with all their Jerusalem relicks, and
Turkish cloaths, and the Venetian to have the third
part. It is done, and irrevocable; upon which the
Jewish doctor and I, with two Janizaries, came to
mine adversary's house: where I giving the Jew the
keys, the cloak-bags were opened, and the money be-
ing told, it came just to one thousand four hundred
twenty-four zechins of gold, besides certain rings and
tablets. The Jew delivered me my part, which came
to nine hundred forty-two zechins, the rest went to the
unconscionable consul, with the half of the rings and
tablets. And packing up all the relicks, money,
clothes, and cloak-bags, I hired a mule, and brought
them along with me to the French factor's house.
Where, when come, Monsieur Beauclair, and my fel-
low-pilgrims, were very glad that I had succeeded so
well, none of us all knowing what was in the cloak-bags,
till they were sighted: and giving hearty thanks to
the consul, and ten pieces of gold to the Jew and jani-
saries, I supped, and reposed till the morrow, thank-
ing God of my good fortune. Yet was I exceeding
sorrowful for the loss of these gallant gentlemen, reli-
giously disposed, and so affable, that for familiarity and
kindness, they were the mirrours of noble minds, and
virtuous spectacles of humanity; whose deaths were to
me a hell, and whose lives had been my paradise on
earth: to whose memory and praise, I am not able
to give the least commendation their heroick dispo-
sitions deserved at my hands.

But what shall I say, their time was come, which
mortality

mortality might sorrow, but sorrow cannot prevent death, whose power is deaf to all human lamentations. Neither will I rely so much upon my own worthiness, as to think, that the benefit of having my life prolonged, was deserved by any merit of mine ; but that God might the more show his incomprehensible goodness in delivering me from the violence of such unexpected accidents, and to tie my soul to be thankful for his mercies. For all the beginnings of man are derived from God, whose ends are either perfected or disannulled by his determination ; and nothing we possess is properly our own, or gotten by our own power, but given us only through his goodness and munificence.

God's provident mercies.

And all the spaces of the earth which our feet tread over, the light we enjoy, and the excellent faculties we are endued with ; or what we can do, say, or think, is only raised, guided, and distributed, by God's impetrable counsel, will, and providence : and although the pride of our wicked nature doth not attribute them thereunto ; yet the powerful working of the counsel of God is such, that in itself it proveth an eternal wisdom, and confoundeth the foolishness of the world.

This incorporate world of Grand Cairo, is the most admirable, and greatest city seen upon the earth, being thrice as large of bounds as Constantinople, and likewise as populous, but not so well builded, being situate in a pleasant plain, and in the heart of Egypt, touching the Nile at some parts.

The city is divided into five towns ; first, Cairo Novo, the new Caire, which is the principal and chief place of all the other, lying in the midst of the rest, having walls and ports ; the circuit whereof is twenty-two miles, containing all the chief merchandise and market-places within it.

The great city of Grand Cairo.

The second is Cairo Vecchio, the old Caire, called *Cairo de Babylonia*, or *Babylon Egyptiorum* ; for there were two Babylons, one in Assyria, called now by the

Turks

Turks *Bagdat*, and the other is this that joineth with the new Caire : It was also anciently called *Memphis*, and was the furthest place that Ulysses in his travels visited, so well memorised by Homer ; yet a voyage of no such estimation, as that princely poet accounted it ; for his travels were not answerable to the fifteenth part of mine.

The third town is *Medin*, joining to the back side of the old Caire, towards the pyramids ; the fourth is *Boulak*, running a great length down along and near the river-side, having three market-places of no small account ; the fifth and last, is the great town of *Caraffar*, bending southward, in the way of the Red sea, for many miles : all which are but as suburbs to the the new Caire, that of many smalls make up a country rather than a city ; and yet all of them are contiguous one with another, either to the left or right hand, or to them both, with innumerable streets : The length whereof in all, from the lowest end of *Boulak*,

The length of great Caire, and the bounds thereof. is, by my deep experience, twenty-eight English miles, and fourteenth in breadth ; for trial whereof I trod it one day on foot from sun to sun, being guided and guarded with a riding Janizary, which, for my bruised feet on the streets, was one of the forest day's journey I ever had in my life.

The principal gates of new Caire are *Babeh Mamsteck*, looking towards the wilderness and the Red sea ; *Bebzavillah* toward the Nile, and *Babel Eutuch* toward the fields. The streets are narrow, being all of them almost covered to save them from the parching heat, with open vents for light ; and their buildings commonly are two stories high, composed either of mud or brick, and platform on the tops ; whereon usually in the night they use to sleep, to receive the fresh and cooling air. Their Bazar or exchange, beginneth at the gate of *Mamsteck*, and endeth at the place called *Babesh*.

At the corner of the chief streets or market-places, there

there are divers horses standing ready saddled and bridled, that, for a small matter, or according to the way, a man may hire and ride where he will, either to negotiate, or to view this spacious and extensive city ; and he may change as many horses as he pleaseth, having the masters which owe them to convoy them for a less or longer way, which is a great ease to weary passengers.

There is a great commerce here with many nations, for by their concurring hither, it is wonderfully peopled with infinite numbers ; for the country aboundeth in silks, corns, fruits, wax, honey, and the sovereign balsamo good for all sores, besides many other commodities of cotton-wool, rich stuffs of cloth of gold and silver, and the best fattins, damask, taffaties, and grograins, that are made in the world, are here.

The great populousness of this place, and the extreme heat, is the cause why the plague is constantly in the city ; infomuch that, at some certain times, ten thousand persons have died in one day : Nay, the city is reputed to be in good health, if there die but one or two thousand in a day, or three hundred thousand in a whole year, I mean, when the fore incroaching pestilence, which every third year useth to visit them, rages here.

In this town a traveller may ever happily find all these sorts of Christians, Italians, French, Greeks, Chelfaines, Georgians, Ethiopians, Jacobins, Syrians, Armenians, Nicolaitans, Abyssines, Cypriots, Slavonians, captive Maltezes, Sicilians, Albaneses, and high Hungarians, Ragusans, and their own Egyptian Copties, the number of which is thought to be beyond two hundred thousand people ; besides the infinite number of infidels, whose sorts are these, Turks, tawny Moors, white Moors, black Moors or Negroes, Mussulmans, Tartars, Persians, Indians, Sabuncks, Berdoanes, Jews, Arabians, Barbares, and Tingitanian Saracens ; all which are Mahometans and idolatrous Pagans.

Divers nations residing in Caire.

From

From the great palatiate mansion, where the beglerbeg or vicegerent hath his residence, being builded on a moderate height, a man may have the full prospect of the better part of the town, the gardens and villages bordering on Nilus, and a great part of the lower plains of Egypt. Their laws here, and heathenish religion, are Turkish and Mahometan; and the customs and manners of the people, are like unto their birth and breeding, beastly and barbarous, being great Sodomites, and diabolically given to all sorts of abominations.

The better sort of women here, and all the kingdom over, wear rings of gold and silver, through the hollow of their noses, both ends of their mouths, and in their under-lips hanging rich pearls, and precious stones to them; wearing also about their arms fair bracelets, and about their ancles below, broad bonds of gold and silver. To which if the baser sort cannot attain, then they counterfeit their betters, with rings, bracelets, and bonds of brass, copper, lead, and white iron, and think themselves not worthy to live unless they wear these badges.

They also use here, as commonly they do through all Turkey, the women to piss standing, and the men to cour low on their knees, doing the like. They wear here linen breeches and leather boots as the men do; and if it were not for their covered faces, and longer gowns, we would hardly know the one from the other. As for the religion of the Copties or Egyptian Christians,

The Egyptian Christians. they are circumcised after the Judaical manner, but not after the eighth day, but the eighth year. And it is thought, they follow the religion of Eutyches, holding but one nature in Christ; which was defended by Dioscorus, and the council of Ephesus, in regard of Eutyches. But the Copties themselves say, they have their religion from Prester John; and so it is most manifest, there being no difference between the one and the other.

The

They make frequently, at all their meetings, the sign of the cross to other; crossing their two foremost fingers, they lay them on their brow, and then on their breasts, and kissing them, their salutation is done.

They will not suffer images nor pictures to be in their churches; and yet they have an altar, and a kind of mass, said in their own language, sacrificing the Hostia for the real body and blood of Christ; yet they deny purgatory, the invocation of saints, and prayers for the dead, &c. Nevertheless, auricular confession is commonly used among them. The Greeks in all these points do the like, and all the oriental people.

The Copties religion.

The inhabitants here were the first inventors of the mathematical sciences, of letters, and of the use of writing, great magicians and astrologians, and are yet endued with a special dexterity of wit; but somewhat slothful, and given to riot and luxury; merriness also, great singers, and sociable companions; and no wonder, the land being so plentiful, and their nature libidinous, it increaseth both their insolence and inordinate affections. Neither do they live long, in regard of the great heat they endure, Egypt being placed between the two Tropics, under the Torrid zone, it cometh to pass, that seldom any there attain to threescore years of age.

The nature of the Egyptian Moors.

In all this land of Egypt, which is a great kingdom, there is no running well or fountain, save only the river Nilus. Scarce do the inhabitants know what rain is, because they seldom see any; and if by rare accident a cloud happen to dissolve upon them, it bringeth to their bodies innumerable sores and diseases. And yet for abundance of corns, and all kinds of fruits the earth yieldeth, there is no country can brag with Egypt; wherefore it was called, in the time of the Romans, as well as Sicily, *Horreum populi Romani*. And yet this kingdom produceth no wines, neither is it garnished with vineyards, but that which strangers make use of are brought from Candy, Cyprus, and Greece.

The defect being thus ; these Mahometan Moors observing strictly the law of their Alcoran, will neither plant wines, nor suffer any to be planted, accounting it a deadly sin to drink wine ; but for coffa and sherpet, composed liquors, they drink enough of.

As for their balsamo, the garden wherein it groweth, lieth near to the south side of Caire, and is inclosed with a high wall, being six miles in compass, and daily guarded by Turks. To which when I came, being conducted with a Janizary, they would not suffer me to enter, neither any Christian, and far less the Jews ; for not long ago, they were the cause that almost this balm was brought to confusion, they having the custody of it for certain years.

The tree itself is only three foot high, which keepeth constantly a green colour, having a broad three-pointed leaf ; which being thrice in the year incised in the body and branches, it yieldeth a red water that droppeth down in earthen vessels, which is the natural balsamo.

And not far from this garden, in a sandy desert, is the place called *Mommeis*, where are innumerable caves cut forth of a rock, whereunto the bodies of most men in Caire are carried, and interred. Which dead bodies remain always unputrified ; neither yield they a stinking smell. Whereof experiments are plentiful at this day, by the whole bodies, hands, or other parts, which by merchants are now brought from thence, and doth make the Mummia which apothecaries use ; the colour being very black, and the flesh clung unto the bones.

Now, having viewed this Microcosmus of the greater world, the four French pilgrims and I did hire a Janizary to conduct us to the great pyramids, firnamed the *World's wonders* ; which are distant from Caire about four leagues, standing beside or near to the banks of Nilus ; where, when come, I beheld their proportion to be quadrangled, growing

growing smaller and smaller to the top, and built with huge and large stones; the most part whereof are five feet broad, or thereabout, and nine in length, being of pure marble.

All the historians that ever wrote of these wonders have not so amply recited their admirable greatness, as the experience of the beholder may testify their excessive greatness and height. The largest of these pyramids, which has suffered least by time and weather, is six hundred ninety-three English feet square at the basis, and its perpendicular height is four hundred ninety-nine feet. But if we take it as the pyramid ascends, inclining, then the height is equal to the breadth of the basis, namely, six hundred and ninety-three feet, the angles and the base making an equilateral triangle. The whole area, therefore, of the basis, contains four hundred and eighty thousand two hundred and forty-nine square-feet, which is something more than eleven acres of ground.

At last, having ascended upon the south side of this greatest pyramid to the top, and that with great difficulty, because of the broken degrees here and there, I was much ravished to see such a large four-squared plat-form, all of one entire stone, which covered the head, each square extending to seventeen foot of my measure *.

It is yet a great marvel to me, by what engine they could bring it up so safe to such a height. But as I conceive it, they behoved certainly still to raise it, and take it with them as they advanced the work, otherwise the wit nor power of man could never have done it. Truly the more I beheld this strange work, the more I was

* On the eastern side of the second pyramid, you see the ruins of a temple, the stories of which are of a prodigious size, they being six feet broad and deep, and most of them sixteen or seventeen feet long, and some of them twenty-two; the whole building being a hundred and eighty feet in front, and a hundred and sixty in depth.

— Bishop Pococke's travels in Egypt, and Mr Norden's.

struck with admiration. For before we ascended, or came near to this pyramid, the top of it seemed as sharp as a pointed diamond; but when we were mounted thereon, we found it so large, that in my opinion it would have contained a hundred men.

In the bottom whereof we found a great cell, and within that through a straight and narrow passage, a four-angled room; wherein there was standing the relicks of a huge and ancient tomb, where probably he that was the first founder of this pyramid was inclosed. From the top of this pyramid our Janizary did shoot an arrow in the air with all his force, thinking thereby it should have fallen to the ground; but as we descended downwards, we found the arrow lying upon the steps, scarce half-way to the ground. From this we came to the middle pyramid, which afar off looked somewhat higher than the other two; but when we came to the root thereof, we found it not so; for the stone-work is a great deal lower; but the advancement of the height is only because of a high ground whereon it standeth.

It is of the same fashion with the first, but hath no degrees to ascend upon; neither hath the third pyramid any at all, being, by antiquity of time, all worn and demolished, yet an admirable work, to behold such masses, and (as it were) erected mountains all of fine marble. The reason why they were first founded is by many ancient authors so diversly conjectured, that I will not meddle therewith. They were first called *Pharaones*.

Yet the first and greatest is said to have been built by Cheops, who in this work employed a hundred thousand men the space of twenty years; in which time the charges of garlic, roots, and onions only, came to sixteen hundred talents of silver. It is recorded by Josephus, and conjectured by many good witnesses, that the bricks which the children of Israel were forced to make, were partly employed about

The greatest pyramid of the three.

The charges of the greatest pyramid.

bout the insides of these pyramids, whose outsides were adorned with marble. Neither can I forget the drift of that effeminate Cheops, who, in the end wanting money, did prostitute his daughter to all comers; by which detestable means he finished his building; and she, besides the money due to her unnatural father, desired for herself, of every man that had the use of her body, one stone; of whom she got so many, that with them she built the second pyramid, almost equal to the first. Besides these three huge ones, there are a number of smaller, whereof some were transported to Rome in the time of her supreme domination.

In the front of the second pyramid, about a quarter of a mile to the eastward, lies the famous statue of the Sphynx, now certainly known to be cut out of the solid rock. This is a monument of most extraordinary dimensions, being, by exact measurement, twenty-seven feet high in the head and neck, no more being above ground. The lower part of the neck is thirty-three feet in diameter. Some persons have climbed to the top of the head, where they have discovered a hole, which very probably was the channel whereby the priests communicated their false oracles to the credulous multitude. There is an opening also in the back, whereby perhaps they descended to the subterraneous apartments. This extraordinary monument is said to have been the sepulchre of Amasis. It is a hundred and thirteen feet from the fore-part of the neck to the tail; but the sand is risen up in such a manner, that the top of the back is only seen.

In our way as we returned, our Dragoman shewed us (on the bank of Nilus) where a crocodile was killed the year before, by the ingenious policy of a Venetian merchant, being licentiated by the Bashaw; the match whereof, for bigness and length, was never seen in that river, whose body was twenty-two feet long, and in compass of the shoulders eight feet; who was thus slain. This beast, for four years together, kept always about one place of the river, being seven miles above Caire; where, for a mile of ground, there was no tillage nor pa-

stirage, being for fear of him laid waste; and nevertheless he had devoured about forty-six persons. His custom was, to come forth of the river every morning, about our eighth hour; where here and there he would lurk, waiting for his prey till ten; for longer from water he could not stay.

A resolute Venetian merchant. This Venetian, leaving his ship at Alexandria, and coming to Caire, was informed by the consul, my adversary, of the great spoil done by this beast; and herewith generously he undertook to kill it, the vicegerent licentiating him; whereupon, going to his ship, he fetched thence his gunner, and a piece of ordnance, to Caire.

The killing of a great crocodile. The next day, in the afternoon, he being well horsed, and accompanied with twenty Janizaries, the piece is carried to the crocodile's accustomed place of forthcoming; where straight there was an afs slain, and hung up on two standing and a thwarting tree, with his open belly to the flood, and about twelve score paces therefrom. Behind this carcase, about other twelve score, the piece was planted, and levelled at the carrion, being charged with cut iron, and a train of powder about the touch-hole, and above it a night-house to keep the train dry from the night's dew, having a cock fastened thereto, and in it a burning match, to which a string was tied; then forty paces behind the piece was there a pit digged to hide the gunner; wherein he was put, holding the string's end in his hand, and his head veiled with a wooden covert.

After this, and about mid-night, the horsemen retired themselves two miles off. The morning come, and the convenient time, the crocodile comes to land; where, when he saw the carcase, came grumbling to it, and setting his two foremost feet on the carrion's middle, began to make good cheer of the intrails; whereat the squint-eyed gunner perceiving his time, drew the string, and giving fire, off went the piece, and shot the crocodile

crocodile in three parts. Well, he is deadly wounded, and making a horrible noise, the gunner lay denned, and durst not stir; meanwhile the beast striving to recover the water, tired, and lying close on his belly, there he died.

After the shot, the horsemen drew near, and finding the beast slain, relieved the gunner, and brought with them this monstrous creature to Caire; where now his skin hangeth in the consul's hall, which I saw during my stay in his house. For this piece of service the merchant was greatly applauded, and scorned to take from the city five hundred sultans of gold, as a reward for his pains, which they freely offered him, and he as freely refused.

Now to discourse of Nilus. This flood irriguateth all the low plains of the land once in the year; which inundation beginneth usually in the latter end of July, and continueth to the end of August; which furnisheth with water all the inhabitants, being the only drink of the vulgar Egyptians, and of such virtue, that when Pescennius Niger saw his soldiers grumble for wine, "What," saith he, "do you grumble for wine, having the water of Nilus to drink?" And now, because many scholars and learned men are merely mistaken about the flowing of Nilus, I will both shew the manner and quality, or cause of its inundation; and thus. There is a dry pond, called *Mac-hash*, digged near unto the brink of the river; in the midst whereof standeth a pillar of eighteen cubits height, being equal with the profundity of the ditch, whereby they know his increasing; and in the year following, if they shall have plenty or scarcity of things*.

The true knowledge of the flowing of Nilus.

Now,

* Nile, the famous large river of Egypt in Africa, rises in Abyssinia, or Upper Ethiopia, from two sources, twenty yards asunder, at the foot of a mountain. — Every year there are great rejoicings when the Nile rises to a certain height, their future harvest depending entirely upon it. The just height of the inundations Pliny

Now, between the river and this pond, there are six passages or spouts digged through the bank; where, when the river beginneth to swell, it immediately falls down through the lowest passage into the pond; and being discovered, there comes forth of Caire certain of the priests, called *Dervises*, accompanied with a hundred Janizaries, and pitch their tents round about this quadrangled pit. In all which time of the inundation, they make great feasting, rare solemnities, with dancing, singing, touking of kettle-drums, sounding of trumpets, and other ostentations of joy.

Now, as the water groweth in the river, and so from it debording, so it groweth also upon the pillar standing in this pond; which pillar is marked, from the root to the top, with brasses, handfuls, a foot, a span, and an inch. And so, if it shall happen that the water rise but to ten brasses, it presageth the year following there shall be great dearth, pestilence, and famine; and if it amounteth to twelve cubits, then the following year shall be indifferent; and if it swell to fifteen brasses, then the next year shall be copious and abundant in all things; and if it shall happen to flow to the top of eighteen brasses, then all the country of Egypt is in danger to be drowned and destroyed.

Now, from the body of Nilus there are above three thousand channels drawn through the plain; on which passing ditches are all the boroughs and towns built; and through which channels the river spreads itself through all the kingdom; which,

Many scholars mistaken about Nilus. reckons twenty-six cubits. When these rise only to twelve or thirteen, a famine is expected; and when they exceed sixteen, danger is apprehended. This river begins to rise annually in May and June; and upon an island opposite to old Cairo stands a pillar which is divided into pics, a measure of two feet, to observe the rising of the water; and when it is at a sufficient height, the Khalis, or Great Canal, is cut from which it is conveyed into other reservoirs, in order to be distributed into their fields and gardens. In this river are vast numbers of crocodiles, sea-horses, and other voracious creatures, which infest it, and probably diminish the quantity of its fish.
— Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

when

when scoured of filth and worms, and the water become clear, then every house openeth their cistern-window, and receiveth as much water as is able to suffice them till the next inundation. Neither doth ever the river flow any where above the banks; for if it should, it would overwhelm the whole kingdom.

All which channels, here or there, do make intercourse for their streams again, to the body and branches of Nilus. Now Stoical fools hold the opinion, that it overfloweth the whole face of the land; then, I pray you, what would become of their houses, their bestial, their corns and fruits? for the nature of violent streams do ever deface, transplant, and destroy all that they debord upon, leaving slime, mud, and sand, behind their breaches; and therefore such overflowing cannot be called cherishings.

There are infinite venomous creatures bred in this river; as crocodiles, scorpions, water-snakes, grievous mis-shapen worms, and other monstrous things, which often annoy the inhabitants, and those who traffic on the water. This famous flood is in length almost three thousand miles, and hath its beginning under the equinoctial line from *Montes Lunæ*; but more truly from the Zembrian lake in Ethiopia Interior, whence it bringeth the full growth down into Egypt, and in a place of the Exterior Ethiopian Alpes, called *Catadupa*. The fall and roaring of Nile maketh the people deaf that dwell near to it.

The infallible reason why Nilus increaseth so every year, at such a time and continuance, is only this, That when the sun declining northward to Cancer, and warming with his vigorous face the northern sides of these Cynthian mountains, the abundant snow melteth; from whence dissolving in streams to the lake Zembria, it ingorgeth Nilus so long as the snow melteth. For benefit of which river, the Great Turk is enforced to pay yearly the tribute of fifty thousand sultans of gold to Prester John, lest he impede and withdraw the course of Nilus to the Red Sea,

*The reason of
the flowing
of Nilus.*

Sea, and so bring Egypt to desolation; the ground and policy whereof begun, upon a desperate war inflicted upon the Ethiopians by Amurath, which he was constrained to give over, under this condition, and for Nilus sake.

The river Nile had many names; for Diodorus named it *Aetos*, to wit Eagle, because of its swift passing over the Catadupian heights. It was called too *Egyptus*, of a king so named, that communicated the same to it, and to the country.

Festus saith it was called *Melos*, and Plutarch termed it *Mela*. Epiphanius called it *Chrysoaroas*, that is, running or coulant in gold. The holy scriptures termeth it *Seor*, or *Sihor*, to wit, trouble, because of the great noise it bringeth with it to Egypt; and the same holy scriptures call it *Gihon* and *Pison*. The Egyptians were wont to name it *Nespea*; and now presently the Abyssines, and the inhabitants of Egypt, name it *Abunhu*, to wit, the river of a long course.

This river maketh the isle of Delta in Egypt; so likewise in Ethiopia that isle of Meroa, so renowned. The ancient authors could not agree, touching the mouths of Nilus; for Milo, Strabo, Diodorus, and Herodotus, place seven; Ptolomy, and others, nine; and Pliny eleven. And some modern authors affirm it hath only four; as Tyrre and Behou alledge, dividing itself two leagues below Caire, in four branches, the two chief whereof are those of Damietta and Roseta. But that is false; and so are the opinions of all the rest: for it hath now eight several mouths, and as many branches drawn from its main body.

The water of Nile is marvellous sweet, above all others in the world; and that proceedeth of the extreme heat of the sun, beating continually upon it, making it become more light, pure, and simple; as also its running over so many soils, and its long course.

And truly it is admirable to see this river grow great, when all others grow small, and to see it diminish when others grow great. So always it is no wonder that the

nature

nature of this river should so increase, when even here, and at home, the river of Rhone hath the like intercourse, and at the same time, through the town of Geneva, and so to the Mediterranean sea; their beginnings being both alike, from the impetuosity of rains, and dissolvings of snow.

Egypt was first inhabited by Misraim, the son of Chus, from whom the Arabians name the land *Misre*, in the Hebrew tongue *Misroie*. It was also named *Oceana*, from Oceanus, the second king thereof. Thirdly, *Osiriana*, from Osiris. And now *Egyptus*, from Egyptus, the surname of Rameses, once a king of great power. It bordereth with Ethiopia and the confines of Nubia, on the south; on the north, with the Mediterranean sea. The chief ports whereof are Damietta and Alexandria. Towards the west, it joineth with the great lake Bauchiarah, and a dangerous wilderness confining therewith, supposed to be a part of Cyrene; so full of wild and venomous beasts, which maketh the west part inaccessible; and on the east, with the isthmus and confines of Desertuous Arabia, and a part of the Red Sea, through which the children of Israel passed.

*The confines
of Egypt.*

This country was governed by kings first, and longest of all other nations. From Osiris, (not reckoning his regal ancestors), in whose time Abraham went down to Egypt, he and his successors were all called *Pharaohs*; of whom Amasis is only worthy mention, who instituted such politic laws to the ancient Egyptians, that he deserveth to be ranked as founder of this kingdom.

This race continued till Cambyfes, the second Persian monarch, made Egypt a member of his empire; and so remained till Darius Nothus, the sixth Persian king, from whom they revolted, chusing kings of themselves. But in the eighteenth year of Nectanebos, the seventh king thereafter, Egypt was recovered by Ochus, the eighth Emperor of Persia.

In

In the end, Darius being vanquished, and Alexander king thereof, after his death, it fell to the share of Ptolomeus, the son of Lagus, from whom the kings of Egypt were for a long time called *Ptolomies*; of whom Queen Cleopatra was the last; after whose self-murder, it was annexed for many years to the Roman empire, and next to the Constantinopolitan; from whose insupportable burden they revolted, and became tributaries for a small time to Haumer, the third Caliph of Babylon.

Afterward, being oppressed by Almericus king of Jerusalem, Noradin, a Turkish king of Damascus, sent Saracon, a valiant warrior, to aid them, who made himself absolute king of the whole country; whose offspring succeeded (of whom Saladine was one, the glorious conqueror of the East), till Melechfala, who was slain by his own soldiers the

The alterations of Egypt.

Mamalucks, who were the guard of the Suldans, as the Janizaries are to the Great Turk; who lately, anno 1622, have almost made the like mutation in the Turkish empire, as the Mamalucks did in the Egyptian.

They made of themselves Sultans, whereby the Mamaluck race continued from the year 1250, till the year 1517; wherein Tonembius, together with his predecessor Campson Gaurus, was overcome by Selimus I.; by whom Egypt was made a province of the Turkish empire, and so continueth as yet.

The length of this kingdom is four hundred and fifty English miles, and two hundred broad; the principal seat whereof is the great Caire, being distant from Jerusalem sixteen days journey, or caravan's journals, amounting to two hundred and forty of our miles. Some hold, that the space of earth that lieth between the two branches of Damietta and Roseta, was called the *Lower Egypt*, now called *Delta*, under the figure of a Greek letter triangular.

The head of this great Delta, where Nilus divideth itself, was called *Heptapolis*, or *Heptonomia*; and Delta itself was called by the Romans *Augustamia*. Egypt, besides

besides the aforesaid names, had divers epithets from divers authors ; for Apollodorus termed it *the region of Melampodes*, because of the fertility of it : and Plutarch gave it the name *Chimia*, because of the holy ceremonies of the Egyptians in worshipping their gods : The etymology whereof Ortelius justly remarked, deriving it from Cham, the son of Noah ; so that some hold the opinion, that the Egyptians had their original from Misraim, (for so was Egypt called), the son of Chus, that proceeded from Cham, Noah's son. The circuit of Delta, or the Lower Egypt, is thought to be three thousand of their stades, which maketh a hundred Spanish leagues.

In the time of the Ptolomies, the revenues of this kingdom were twelve thousand talents ; so also in the time of the Mamalucks ; but now through tyrannical government, and discontinuance of traffic through the Red Sea, the Turk receiveth no more than three millions yearly ; one of which is free to himself, the other two are distributed to support the charge of his vicegerent Bashaw, and presidary soldiers, being twelve thousand Janizaries, besides their thousands of Timariots, which keep Egypt from the incursions and tyranny of Arabs. In Caire I staid twelve days ; and having bid farewell to Monsieur Beauclair, the consul, who courteously entertained me, the other four French pilgrims and I embarked at Boulacque in a boat : and as we went down the river, the chief towns of note we saw were these, Salmona, Pharfone, Foua, and Abdan. I remember our boat was double hooked, with forked spikes of iron round about the sides, for fear of the crocodiles, who usually leap upon boats, and will carry the passenger away headlong in the stream : and yet these beasts themselves are devoured by a water rat, of whom they taking great pleasure and play, and gaping widely, the rat running into his mouth, the other out of joy swalloweth it down ; where the rat, for disdain, cometh forth at the broad side of his belly, leaving the crocodile dead. In these parts,

parts, there is a stone called *Aquiline*, which hath the virtue to deliver a woman from her pain in child-birth. In all this way, the greatest pleasure I had, was to behold the rare beauty of certain birds, called by the Turks *Ellock*; whose feathers being beautified with the diversity of rarest colours, yield, afar off, to the beholder, a pleasant sight; having also this property, the nearer a man approacheth them, the more they lose the beauty of their feathers, by reason of the fear they conceive when they see a man. Upon the third day we landed at Rosetta, and came over land with a company of Turks to Alexandria, being fifty miles distant.

Alexandria is the second port in all
The town of Turkey: It was of old a most renowned
Alexandria. city, and was built by Alexander the Great, but now is greatly decayed, as may appear by the huge ruins therein. It hath two havens; the one whereof is strongly fortified with two castles, which defend both itself and also Porto Vecchio. The fields about the town are sandy, which engender an infectious air, especially in the month of August; and is the reason why strangers fall into bloody-fluxes, and other heavy sicknesses. In my staying here, I was advised by a Ragusan consul, to keep my stomach hot, to abstain from eating of fruit, and to live soberly, with a temperate diet. This rule I strove diligently to observe, so did I also in all my travels prosecute the like course of a small diet, which was often too small against my will; by the means whereof, (praised be God), I fell never sick till my return to France.

This city is mightily impoverished since the trading of spices that were brought through the Red Sea to Egypt, and so over land to Alexandria, and its sea-port, whence the Venetians dispersed them all over Christendom; but now are brought home by the back part of Africa, by the Portuguese, English, and Flemings; which maketh both Venice and Alexandria fare the worse, for want of their former traffic and commerce in these southern parts; whence Venice grew the more
 ther-

ther-nurse to all Europe for these commodities, but now altogether spoiled thereof, and decayed, by our western adventures, in a longer course for these Indian soils.

This city was a place of great merchandise; and in the Nicene council, was ordained to be one of the four patriarchal sees; the other three are, Antiochia, Jerusalem, and Constanti- *The four pa-*
 nople. Here, in Alexandria, was that *triarchal sees*
 famous library *, which Ptolomeus Philadelphus filled with seven hundred thousand volumes. It was he that also caused the seventy-two interpreters to translate the Bible. Overagainst Alexandria is the little isle Pharos; in the which, for the commodity of sailors, the aforesaid King builded a watch-tower of white marble, being of so marvellous a height, that it was accounted one of the seven wonders of the world; the other six, being the pyramids; the tomb Mausoleum which Artemisia Queen of Caria, caused to be built in honour of her husband; the temple of Ephesus; the walls of Babylon; the Colossus of Rhodes; and the statue of Jupiter Olympius at Elis in Greece, which was made by Phidias, an excellent work-master in gold and ivory, being in height sixty cubits.

Waiting fifteen days here in Alexandria for passage, great was the heat the Frenchmen and I endured, in-somuch, that in the day-time we did nought, but in a low room besprinkle the water upon ourselves, and all the night lie on the top or platform of the house, to have the air; where, at last, bidding good night to our Greekish host, we embarked in a Slavonian ship

* In this city it was that Ptolomy erected his famous library, which in his time contained four hundred thousand volumes, most of them of great value, and very scarce; and by several additions made to it by his successors, when this repository of literature was burnt in the civil wars of Rome, (Cæsar having been obliged to set fire to the enemy's fleet, by which means the flames spread from the dock to the books), it amounted to seven hundred thousand volumes. — Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

belonging to Ragusa ; and so set our faces north for Christendom ; in which ship I was kindly used, and Christian-like entertained, both for victuals and passage. The winds somewhat at the beginning favouring us, we weighed anchor, and set forward to sea, leaving the coast of Cyrene westward from us, which lieth between Egypt by the sea-side, and Numidia, or kingdom of Tunis.

The chief cities therein are, Cyrene, *The fabulous* Arfinoa, and Barca, whence the whole *country of Cy-* Cyrenian country taketh the modern *rene.* name *Barca Marmorica*, anciently *Penta Politana*.

The soil is barren of waters and fruits, the people rude and theftuous ; yet it hath bred the most ingenious spirits, Callimachus the poet, Aristippus the philosopher, Eratosthenes the mathematician, and Simon of Cyrene, whom the Jews compelled to carry our Saviour's cross.

In this province, which is now reckoned as a part of Egypt, stood the oracle of Jupiter Hammon, in the great wilderness adjoining to Libya, whither, when Alexander travelled, he saw, for four days space, neither man, beast, bird, tree, nor river ; where, when arrived, the flattering priests professed him to be the son of Jupiter ; which afterward (being hurt with an arrow) he found false, saying, “ Omnes me vocant filium Jovis, sed hæc sagitta me probat esse mortalem.” West from Cyrene, all the kingdoms of Tunis, Tremisen, Algier, Fez, and a part of Morocco, even to Gibraltar, or Fretum Herculeum, under a general name, now called *Barbary*, and hardly can be distinguished by the barbarous Moors.

In the time of this our navigation for Christendom, there died seventeen of our mariners, and all our four French pilgrims, two of them being gray-haired, and sixty years of age ; which bred no small grief and fear to us all, thinking that they had died of the plague ; for it was exceeding rife in Alexandria, from whence we came.

The

The Frenchmen had only left unspent among them all threescore and nine zechins of gold, which the master of the ship meddled with; and because they were Papists, and they and I always adverse to other, I could not claim it. Their dead corpses were cast overboard, in a boundless grave, to feed the fishes, and we then expecting too the like mutation of life; so likewise, in our passage, we were five sundry times assailed by the corsairs and pirates of Tunis and Biserta; yet unprevailing; for we were well provided with good ammunition, and skilful, martial, and resolute Ragusans, and a gallant ship.

Our ship's burden being fix hundred tuns, did carry twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, two of them brazen, and eighty strong and strenuous sailors, besides nine merchants and passengers. The greatness of our ship did more terrify the roguish runagates, than any violent defence we made; for they never durst set on us, unless they had been three all together; and yet we little regarded them, in respect of our long-reaching ordnance, and expert gunners. In these circumstances of time, I remember, almost every day, we would see flocks of flying fishes, scudding upon the curling waves, so long as their fins were wet, which grow from their back, as feathered wings do from fowls; but when they grow dry, they are forced to fall down, and wet them again, and then fly along. Their flight will be the length of a cable's rope, untouching water; and in this their scudding, it is thought the dolphin is pursuing them, who is their only enemy in devouring and feeding upon them; whose bigness and length are like to mackerels, but greater headed and shouldered. Meanwhile, in these our courses were we seven weeks crossed with northerly winds, ever tackling and boarding from the Afric coast to the Carminian shore; in all which time we saw no land, except the boisterous billows of glassy Neptune. And, as Ovid said, in the

like case, crossing the Ionian seas, *Nil nisi pontus et aer, viz.*

Nothing but waves I view, where ships did float,
And dangers lie; huge whales do tumbling play;
Above my head, heaven's star-embroider'd coat,
Whose vault contains two eyes, for night and
day;

Far from the main, or any marine coast,
'Twixt Borean blasts and billows we are tost.

If Ovid in that strait Ionian deep

Was toss'd so hard, much more am I, on seas
Of larger bounds, where staff and compass keep

Their strict observance; yet in this uncase
Of tackling boards, we so the way make short,
That still our course draws nearer to the port,

Between the stream and silver-spangled sky,

We rolling climb, then hurling fall beneath:

Our way is serpent-like, in meads which lie,

That bows the grass, but never makes no path;

But fitter like young maids and youths together,

Run here and there, all where, and none know
whither.

Our way we know, and yet unknown to other,

And whilst unknown to us, before we dive,

The hand and compass that govern the rudder

Do often err: although the pilots strive

With chart and plot, their reckonings sometimes fall

Too narrow, short, too high, too wide, too small.

To discern this, remark, when they set land,

Some this, some that, do guess, this hill, that cape;

For many hours their skill in suspense stand,

Terming this fore, that head land, points the map;

Which, when mistook, this forg'd excuse goes clear,

O such and such a land first it did 'pear.

In all which strife stress'd sailors have the pain,

By drudging, pulling, hauling, standing to it,

In cold and rain, both dry and wet, they strain

Themselves to toil, none else but they must do it:

We

We passengers behold, with belching throats,
Only their task atchiev'd in quivering boats.

Then since but air and water I perceive,

One's hot and moist, the other moist and cold ;
It's earth that's cold and dry I ling'ring crave,

And fire that's dry and hot I wishing would ;

Then thund'ring Æole, from thy seven-rigg'd
towers,

Soon waft us o'er, forth from these glassy bowers.

My wish is come, I see each bulging sail

For pride begins to swell between two sheets ;

She ticklish grows, as wanton of her tail,

And lays her side close where the weather beats ;

Both prow and poop do answer to the helm,

The steersman sings, no grief his joy can whelm.

By night our watch we set, by day our fight,

And thirl our sails ; if pirates but appear,

We rest resolv'd ; it's force makes cowards fight ;

Though none more dare than they that have most
fear :

It's courage makes us rash, and wisdom cold ;

Yet wise men, stout, and strong, grow lion-bold.

Now we look out for land, now we see Malt,

That little famous isle, though sterile soil ;

Where we'll some bay, or creek seek to assault,

Whence anchorage and safety ships recoil :

Now, now let anchor fall, we're in the road,

Safely arriv'd, by providence of God.

This done, as time avouch'd, I kindly bade

My comforts all adieu ; then came ashore,

Where I such plenty of great favours had,

That scarce the like I ever found before.

These white-cross'd knights, with their eight pointed
crosses,

Embrac'd my sight ; with it, my toils and tosses.

So ends my verse ; and so I'll straight disclose

The isle, the folks, their manners, in plain prose.

The greatest cause of our arrival here, was in regard of our fresh water that was spent, and therefore constrained to bear into this isle; which was my sole desire, wishing rather to land here, to see the order of our knights of Christendom, than to arrive at Ragusa in the Adriatic gulf, where I had been before. Our anchors being grounded, and our boat ready to go to the

shore, I bade farewell to all the company, and in a singular respect to my generous captain, who would have nothing for my victuals and transportation for Egypt, except a few relicks of Jerusalem. The boat being launched, and we landed in the haven, I called at a vulgar tavern, and there lodged.

This city is divided into two, the old and new Malta, from which the isle taketh the name. It is a large and populous place, and strongly fortified with invincible walls, and two impregnable castles, St Hermes and St Angelo; St Michael being distant from both. Here the great master, or prince for that year, being a Spaniard, made much of me for Jerusalem's sake; so did also a number of these gallant knights, to whom I was greatly obliged. And withal, to my great contentment, I met here with a country-gentleman of mine, being a soldier there, named *William Douglas*; who afterward, for his long and good service at sea, was solemnly knighted, and made one of their order. Whose faithful and manly services have been since as plausibly regarded by the Maltese, as *Monf. Creighton's* worth, in learning and excellent memory, rests admired in Italy; but especially by the noble *Gonzagaes*, and dependent friends of the house of Mantua; for whose loss, and accidental death, they still heavily bemoan; acknowledging that the race of that princely stock, by God's judgements, was cut off, because of his untimely death.

Malta was called *Melita*, mentioned *The isle of Malta.* Acts xxviii. 1. 2.; where the viper leaped on Paul's hand. I saw also the creek wherein he was shipwrecked. This island

island may properly be termed *the fort of Christendom*; yet a barren place, and of no great bounds; for their corns and wines come daily by barks from Sicilia: but it yieldeth good store of pomegranates, citrons, cottons, oranges, lemons, figs, melons, and other excellent fruits. The knights of Malta had their beginning at Acre in Palestina, from thence to the Rhodes, and now exposed to this rocky isle. They are pertinacious foes to infidels; for such is the oath of their order, continually making war and incursions against them, to their power; being strengthened also with many soldiers; and their captains also are surnamed *Knights of Malta*, and so through a great part of Christendom. It is a most honourable order. They are not permitted to marry, the most part of whom being younger brothers. The reason was, because not being intangled to wife and children, they might be the more resolute to adventure their lives in the Christian service; but therein they are mightily decayed, and their valour no way answerable to that it hath been when their ancestors lived in the Rhodes and Holy Land, having had, these eighteen years past, little or no good fortune at all.

This isle was given in possession to these knights of St John, by the Emperor Charles V. and King of Spain, being newly expelled from the Rhodes by Solymán the Magnificent, *anno* 1622. And afterward the Turk, not contented therewith, and mindful utterly to exterminate their power, came with a huge armada, and assailed Malta, *anno* 1565, when Valetta was great master, who so *An invincible* courageously withstood their fury, that *victory.* the Turks were defeated, and forced to return.

This island is ten leagues in length, and three broad; the earth whereof being three feet deep, is the cause why it is not so fertile as the climate might afford. It containeth, besides the city, forty-seven villages, and

nine cassales *; the peasants or natural inhabitants whereof are of the African complexion, tawny, and sun-burnt; and their language like to the Barbarian speech, without any great difference, both tongues being a corrupt Arabic; and not unlike therein to the Italian from the Latin, or the vulgar Greek from the ancient; yet the modern Greek is nearer the ancient than the Italian is the Latin. These rural Malteze are extremely bent, in all their actions, either to good or evil: wanting fortitude of mind, and civil discretion, they cannot temper the violent humours of their passions; but as the headstrong tide, so the dispositions run in the superfluous excess of affections.

They follow the Roman church, though ignorant of the way; and their women are lovely fair, going with their faces covered with black veils, and much inclined to licentiousness; their beauties being borrowed from art more than nature: for it is a common practice amongst decayed beauties, worn out by time or accidents, to hide it from others eyes with art, and from their own by false glasses. But, alas! the graces and beauties of the soul ought more to be cared for, and to have the first place and honour, above these counterfeit or outward shows of the body; and the beauty and lovely proportion of the body should be preferred before the effeminate deckings, that the body doth rather carry than enjoy; since it often happeneth, that a foul and deformed carcase hath a fair and rich wardrobe. In this town of Malta, there are many Turkish and Moorish slaves, very rudely treated; yet not answerable to that cruelty the slavish Christians endure upon their galleys in Barbary or Turkey. The de-

* Besides the city, the island contains twenty-six parishes, four or five towns, standing close to one another, which may be looked upon as one, and between thirty and forty villages, containing in all about fifty thousand souls; one half of which are military unmarried men. Lat. 35 deg. 54. N. long. 14. deg. 34 min. E.
—Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

scription of Malta I postpone to the succeeding relations of my second travels. And after twelve days staying here, I embarked in a frigate with other passengers, and arrived at Cicily, in the south-east corner of Sicilia, being sixty miles distant.

From thence coasting the shore fifty miles to Syracuse, I met with by the way, in a clefty creek close by the sea-side, a Moorish brigantine, with twelve oars on each side, charged with Moors, who had secretly staid there a night and a day, stealing the people away labouring on the fields; at which sudden sight, and being hard by them, I stopped my pace. Whereupon about twenty Moors broke out upon me, with shables and slings. But my life and liberty being dear to me, my long-traced feet became more nimble in twelve score paces, than they could follow in eighteen: for I behoved to fly back the same way I came; where, when freed, I hastened to the next watch-tower, sea-set, and there told the centinel, that a Moorish brigantine was lying within two miles, at an obscure clift, and that I hardly escaped their hands: Whereupon he, making a fire on the top of the tower, and from all watch-towers along, gave presently warning to the country; so that in a moment they of the villages came down, on horse and foot, and well armed, and demanding me seriously of the truth. I brought them, with all possible dispatch, to the very place; where forthwith the horsemen broke upon them, wounding divers before they were all taken; for some fled to the rocks, and some were in the covered fields hunting their prey. At last they were all seized upon, and fast tied two and two in iron chains, and six Sicilians relieved, whom they had stolen and thrall'd; whence they were carried to Syracuse. I went also along with them, where by the way the people blessed me, and thanked God for mine escape, and me for discovering them. From Syracuse, (being condemned to the galleys), upon the third day, they were sent to Palermo, being thirty-six in number.

*A Moorish
brigantine.*

They gone, and I reposing here, the governor of that place, for this piece of service, and my travels fake, did feast me three days, and at my departure would have rewarded me with gold ; so also the friends of them that were relieved ; which if I took or not, judge you, that best can judge on discretion. This city is situate on a promontory, that jutteth into the sea, having but one entry, and was once the capital seat of the kingdom ; though now, by old tyrannies, and late alterations of time, it is only become a private place ; yet girded about with the most fragrant fields, for dainty fruits, and delicate muscatello, that all Europe can produce.

From this place, overtracing other fifty miles to Catagna, situate at *Ætna's* foot, I measured the third fifty miles to Messina. Where now I cease to discourse any further of this island, till my return from Africa, being my second voyage, (for true it is, double experience, deeper knowledge), where then punctually, in my following order, the reader, I hope, shall find his desired satisfaction.

From Messina I embarked in a Neapolitan boat, loaden with passengers ; whence coasting
An happy arrival. along for four hundred miles, the higher and lower Calabrian coast, with a part of the Lauorean lists, upon the twelfth day we landed at Naples ; where, being disembarked, I gave God thanks, upon my bended knees, for my safe arrival in Christendom. And meeting there with the Earl of Bothwell, and Captain George Hepburn, I took the way to Rome, being a hundred and thirty miles distant ; where I stole one night's lodging privately ; and on the morrow early, departing thence, and crossing Tyber, I visited these towns in Italy before I courted the Alps, Siena, Florence, Luca, Pisa, Genoa, Bologna, Parma, Pavia, Piacenza, Mantua, Milan, and Turin. The commendation of which cities rest revolved in these following verses.

Illustrat

Illustrat Sænas, patriæ facundia linguæ :
Splendida solertes nutrit Florentia cives :
Libera Luca tremit, ducibus vicina duobus :
Flent Pisa amissum, dum contemplantur honorem :
Genua habet portum, mercesque, domosque superbas :
Excellit studiis facunda Bononia cunctis :
Commendant Parmam, lac, caseus, atque butyrum :
Italicos versus præfert Pavia Latinis :
Non caret hospitiiis perpulchra Placentia caris :
Mantua gaudet aquis, ortu decorata Maronis :
Est Mediolanum jucundum, nobile, magnum :
Taurinum exornant virtus, pietasque, fidesque.

Having passed Turin, and its princely court, whose present duke might have been the mirror of nobility, I kept my way through Piedmont or Pedemontano, the sister of Lombardy, and second garden of Europe : and crossing the steep and snowy mountain of Mount Cola di Tenda, the highest hill of all the Alps, I found on its top, that it re- *The Ligurian*
 ferveth always a Gradinian mist, for a *Alpes.*
 mile of way long stakes set in the snow,
 each one a spear's length from another, to guide the
 passenger his dangerous way ; of the which stoops if
 he fail, he is lost for ever.

After I had traversed this difficult passage, I had two days journey in climbing and crossing the rocky and intricate hills of Liguria, over which Hannibal had so much ado to conduct his army to Italy ; making a way through the snow with fire, vinegar, and wine : whence it was said of him, *Viam aut inveniet Annibal, aut faciet.* Leaving these mountains behind me, I arrived at Nice in Provence, situate on the Mediterranean sea ; and passing the towns of Antibio and Cana to night at Farges, there were three French murderers set upon me in a thievish wood twelve miles long ; one of which had dogged me hither from Nice : where, having given me a fearful chace for a long league, and not mending themselves, they gave me over. Well,
 in

in the midst of the wood I found an hostery, and in it two women and three young children, with whom I staid and lodged all night.

After I had supped and gone to bed, in came these afore said villains, accompanied with my host; where, when seen, they straight accused me for my flight, and threatening me with strokes, consulted my death. Then I cried to my host for

A happy escape from murder.

help, but he stood dumb, for he was their companion; and to second their intention, his wife made fast the lower door: whereat being moved with deadly fear, I pulled my Turkish gown from my back, and opening my sacket, said, Now Christian gentlemen, I know you are distressed, and so am I: come search my cloaths and budget, and if you find what you look for, let me die. Alas, I am a poor stranger, newly come from Jerusaleme and the sepulchre of Jesus Christ, and after long travels; and lo there is my patent: and concerning my flight, I swear I only fled for the safety of my life, but not for the preservation of my money, for come, see I have none; my grief is, that I have it not for you. Good gentlemen consider the dangers that I have past among infidels, and let not your Christian hands rob me of my life, having nothing wherefore you should.

This spoken, and much more, they never searched me nor touched my wallet, but went to counsel; where they concluded, from my forwardness in opening my body and other things to them, that I had no money, and therefore confirmed my life, which, for the former respect, and the *Holy grave's* sake was granted. Whereupon packing up my relicks again, they called for wine, and drunk divers times to me; and after a long spent conference, their supper making ready, they dismissed me for my bed: whither, when led by my hostess, I privily made the door fast, suspecting still a sudden death. Well, they supped and were jovial; and at the first

first cock, went forth to the wood, and the high-way, for their own ends.

All which time I stood centinel; and the morning come, my host confessed, that he only had saved my life, forswearing himself of their former fight; but, said he, certainly they are murderers. Leaving him with dissembled thanks, I arrived at Farges; where I learned that my host was suspected to be a consort with these, and many more murderers. Well, afterwards I heard he was arraigned, hanged, and quartered, the house razed, and his wife put to death:

and ever since, the French king keepeth a guard of horsemen there, to keep that filthy and dangerous wood free from murderers. For now may I say, like to a ship that after a long voyage, is either in greatest danger, or else cast away entering the road and haven from whence she came; even so was I cast in the most imminent peril that I had in all my travels; being on the frontiers of France, and as it were, (in regard of remoter places), entering the town wherein I was born.

*A guard of
horsemen for
a dangerous
wood.*

Having given humble thanks and lofty praises to the Almighty for my deliverance, I traversed Provence and Languedoc, where, near to Montpellier, I met with the French gentleman's father, whom I relieved from the gallies in Canea of Candy; who being overjoyed with my sight, kindly intreated me for eight days, and highly rewarded me with Spanish pistoles, lamenting, for my sake, that his son was at Paris. Whence, continuing my voyage to Barcelona in Catalonia of Spain, I gave over my purpose in going to Madrid, because of dear bedding and scarcity of victuals; and footing the nearest way through Arragon and Navarre, I crossed at the passage of Sancto Johanne, the Pyrenean mountains, and falling down by Pau and the river Ortes, I visited Gascony and Bearn; and from them, the cities of Bourdeaux and Rochelle; and arriving at Paris, whence I first began my voyage, I also there ended

ed my first, my painful, and pedestrial pilgrimage. Whence, shortly thereafter visiting England's court, I humbly presented to King James, and Queen Anne of ever blessed memories, and to his present Majesty King Charles, certain rare gifts and notable relicks brought from Jordan and Jerusaleem. Where afterward, within a year, upon some distaste, I was exposed to my second peregrination as followeth.

The end of the first Book of my Travels.

P A R T VIII.

The Second Book of my Travels.

Patriam meam transire non possum : omnium una est ; extra hanc nemo projici potest. Non patria mihi interdicitur, sed locus. In quamcunque terram venio, in meam venio ; nulla exilium est, sed altera patria est. Patria est ubicunque bene est. Si enim sapiens est, peregrinatur ; si stultus, exulat, Senec. De re for.

*Let not surmisers think, ambition led
My second toils, more flash-flown praise to wed ;
Nay, there was reason, and the cause is known
For courtly crosses seldom stay unshown.
Well, I am sped ; through Belgia then I trace ;
And footing Rhine, to Geneve kept my pace :
Thence cross'd I Sinais, Po, and Lombard bounds,
The hills Appennine, the Ætrurian rounds :
And nighting Rome, Parthenope I pass'd,
Even to Rhegio, of towns Calabria's last :
Whence Sicily I view'd, and Ætna mount,
And Malta too, as I before was wont ;
Then sight I Tunis, where old Carthage stood,
And Scipio shed streams of Numidian blood.
Hence Tremizen I trac'd, the barb'rous shore
To Algier, Great Fez, the Atlantic glore ;
The Berdoans country, and the Lybian sands,
The Carolines parch'd bounds, the Sabunck lands ;
And divers soils, of savage Heathnic bounds,
Whose names and styles, this Africk story sounds.
Last in the Lybian lists, I'm forc'd to stay,
Whence I return'd, for Tunis the next way ;*

And

*And resting there, till Æole's seven rigg'd towers,
 Press'd Triton's back, (cross'd Neptune's paramours),
 And wish'd me sail: O then with speedy flight
 I board the ship, and bade the Moors good-night.*

THE knowledge of the world, above all things, preferreth men to those honours and charges that make great houses and republics flourish; and render the actions and words of them who possess it, agreeable both to great and small. This science is only acquired by conversation, and haunting the company of persons the most experienced, by divers discourses, reports, by writs, or by a lively voice in communicating with strangers; and in the judicious consideration of the fashion of the living one with another. And above all, by travellers and voyagers in divers regions, and remote places, whose experience confirmeth the true science thereof; and can best draw the anatomy of human condition. For which, and other respects, it holdeth true, that the heart of man is insatiable, being set upon whatsoever object his predominant affection listeth. Neither can reason find place in the violent hurry of such passions; for as judgement is seldom compatible with youth, but reserved to old age; so to an inconstant disposition, every accident is a constellation, by which best thoughts are diversified, and driven from the centre of deepest resolution: whilst contrariways the sound-set man, though by opportunity he altereth his pace, yet still keepeth his way, serveth time for advantage, not for fear; but as the sun setteth to rise again, so he changeth his course, to continue his purpose. As to myself, whether discontent or curiosity drove me to this second perambulation, it is best reserved to my own knowledge: as for the opinion of others, I little care either for their sweetest temper, or their sourest censure; for they that hunt after other men's fancies, go rather to the market to sell than to buy, and love better to paint the bare fashion

*The necessary
 use and honour
 of travels.*

*The author's
 apology.*

fashion and outfides of themselves, than to rectify or repair their own defects and errors; wherewith I leave them. Then it is well, if it please me, it is enough; my pains are my own, and not others; and therefore best worthy to judge of my own labours, being best known to myself who dearest bought them. And so to make short this preamble or conducing compliment, I come to the matter itself.

Now, as I began my first voyage from Paris, so from London must I begin this my second peregrination: whence leaving the court, the country, and Dover, I courted Calais, and so to Graveling, Dunkirk, and fatal Ostend, whose ruinous condition gave my muse this subject.

To view the ruins of thy wasted walls,

Lo! I am come, bewailing thy disgrace,

Art thou this bourge, Bellona so instals

To be the mirror for a martial face?

Ay, sure, 'tis thou, whose bloody bathing bounds,

Gave death to thousands, and to thousands wounds.

What hostile force besieg'd thee, poor Ostend,

With all engines, that ever war devis'd?

What martial troops, did valiantly defend

Thine earthen strengths, and sconces unsurpris'd?

By cruel assaults, and desperate defence,

Thine undeserved name won honour thence.

Some deep interr'd, within thy bosom lie,

Some rot, some rent, some torn in pieces small:

Some warlike maim'd, some lame, some halting cry;

Some blown through clouds, some brought to

deadly thrall;

Whose dire defects, renew'd with ghostly moans,

May match the Theban or the Trojan groans.

Base fisher-town, that fang'd thy nets before,

And drench'd into the deep thy food to win;

Art thou become a tragic stage, and more

Whence bravest wits, brave stories may begin

To show the world, more than the world would

crave,

How all thine intrench'd ground became one grave?

The

Thy digged ditches turn'd a gulf of blood,
 Thy walls defeat were rear'd with fatal bones,
 Thine houses equal with the streets they stood,
 Thy limits come, a sepulchre of groans :
 Whence cannons roar'd, from fiery cracking smoke
 'Twixt two extremes thy desolation broke.
 Thou God of war, whose thundering sounds do fear
 This circled space, plac'd here below the rounds,
 Thou in oblivion hast sepulchrized here
 Earth's dearest life ; for now what else redounds
 But sighs and sobs, when treason, sword, and fire,
 Have thrown all down, when all thought to aspire ?
 Forth from thy marches, and frontiers about,
 In sanguine hue thou dyed'st the fragrant fields ;
 The camped trenches of thy foes without
 Were turn'd to blood ; for valour never yields :
 So bred ambition, honour, courage, hate,
 Long three years siege, to overthrow thy state.
 At last, from threat'ning terror of despair,
 Thine hemm'd defendants, with divided walls
 Were forc'd to render ; then came mourning care
 Of mutual foes ; for friends untimely falls :
 Thus lost, and got, by wrong and lawless right,
 My judgement thinks thee scarcely worth the fight.
 But there's the question, when the muse hath done,
 Whether the victor, or the vanquish'd won ?

To fly hence, in a word, I measured all the Nether-
 lands with my feet, in two months space, the descrip-
 tion whereof is so amply set down by modern authors,
 that it requireth no more : only this, for policies, in-
 dustries, strong towns and fortifications, it is the mir-
 ror of virtue, and the garden of Mars ; yea, and the
 light of all Europe, that he who hath exactly trod it,
 may say he hath seen the map of the
Weifle taken whole universe. And now ascending
by Spincola. to Cleve, I came just to Grave-Maurice's
 camp at Rhiese, as Spineola had taken
 Weifle. Between which armies for five weeks I had free
 intercourse, being kindly respected by both the gene-
 rals ;

rals; for Spineola set me at his own table, and I lay in his second tent nine nights; the Duke of Newenberg, and Don Pietro di Toledo, being there both for the time: so with the Prince of Orange, with whom I discoursed divers times, was the Marquis of Brandenburg, certain nobles, and foreign ambassadors. All which time, O how it grieved me to see the tyranny of the Spaniards daily executed upon the distressed Protestants of Weisle, over whom they domineered like devils; for these afflicted citizens, being heavily oppressed by their insupportable usage, were beleagured with their friends, when they were held captive by their enemies; and, obeying necessity, kept their bodies within the walls, though their minds were without, and entirely with the assailants.

Bidding adieu to these armies, and accompanied with a young gentleman, David Bruce, the Lord of Clakmanan his son, whom I conducted to Italy; scarcely had we outstripped Rhineberg (where Colonel Edmond was slain) a Dutch mile, till we were both robbed of our cloaks and pocket-monies, with five soldiers, French and Vallones, and that within a village, women and children beholding us, but no man to relieve us, they being with carts serving Spineola's camp.

Whence, the next day approaching Culloine, and bills of change answered, we visited the falsely supposed tombs of the three kings that came to Bethlehem, who, as the Romanists say, lie interred there. O

*The fabulous
miracles of
Culloine.*

filthy and base absurdness, for their holy mother-church to confirm hellish and erroneous lies; for these kings came from the east, and from Chaldea, and not from the north: or if they will have them to die there, and so buried, surely this is even such another damnable error, surpassing tradition, as their wandering Jew, the shoe-maker of Jerusalem, is, of whom, in Rome, they have wrote ten thousand fables and fopperies. From this we visited the eleven thousand virgins heads, martyrs: indeed we saw the church-walls all indented about with bare skulls, but whose heads they

were, the Lord knoweth. From thence a gentleman brought us to a chapel, within a vineyard, called *the Chapel of miracles*; the original whereof was thus: Upon a festival-day, being vintage-time, there came a peasant to the town, and passing by the vines (as there is a number within the walls) did eat his belly-full of the grapes; and thereafter hearing a mass, was confessed, and received the sacrament: And returning the same way he came, and just where he had eaten the grapes,

A forged and false miracle. he fell a-vomiting, and casting up, with what he had eaten, the holy sacrament, it straight turned into the likeness of a new-born babe, being bright and glorious.

Well, the amazed fellow run back, and told his confessor what was done, and his offence, who had eaten grapes before the reception of the eucharist. The confessor told the bishop; where he, and other prelates coming to the place, and beholding as it were an angel, grew astonished.

In the end, they wrapped up their little dead god in a cambrick veil, and there buried it, building this chapel above the place; where, ever since, there is a world of lying miracles done. Lo, these are the novelties of Culloine.

Thence ascending the Rhine, and reaching Heidleberg, I saluted the Princess Palatine with certain rare relicks of the Holy Land. And leaving Monsieur Bruce there till my return, I went for Nurenberg, to discover the six Germans death, whom I had buried in the deserts, and Grand Caire of Egypt; for the two barons were subject to the Marquis of Hanspach: where having met with some of their brethren, sisters, and kinsmen, and related to them their deaths, I was presently carried to their prince the Marquis, to whom I related the whole circumstances. Whereupon a brother of the one baron, and a sister of the other, were instantly invested in their lands; and I likewise, by them all, greatly regarded and rewarded; and, after ten days feasting, reviewing Heidleberg, mine associate and I set forward for Helvetia, or Switzerland.

This

This country is divided into thirteen cantons, six whereof are Protestants, and six Papists ; the odd canton being likewise half and half. The most powerful whereof is Berne, whose territory lying along the lake, reacheth within a league of Geneva. The people, and their service to most Christian princes, are well known, being manly, martial, trusty, and faithful.

Here, in the canton of Berne, near to Urbs, we went and saw a young woman, who then had neither eat, nor drunk, nor yet passed excrements for thirteen years, it being truly certified by her parents, friends, physicians, and other visitors.

She was always bedfast, and so extenuated, that her anatomised body carried nothing but sinew, skin, and bones, yet was she mindful of God. And the year after this time, her body returned again to its natural vigour, in appetite and all things : and she married a husband, bearing two children, and died in the fifth year thereafter.

A woman fasting fourteen years.

The day following we entered Geneva, where viewing the town, the chief burgo-masters, the seven ministers, and the four captains, were all familiarly acquainted with me, with whom, in divers places, I daily feasted and discoursed. The ministers one night complimenting me with a bible, newly translated into the Italian tongue by one of themselves, born in Milan, told me, there was a mass-priest, six leagues off, a curate of a village in Madame de Longeville's country, who had gotten, in his own parish, three widows, and their three several daughters, with child, and all about one time ; and for this his luxurious cullions was brought to Dijon to be executed, desiring me to go see the manner. The next day (leaving Mr Bruce with them) I went hither, and upon the following day, I saw him hanged upon a new gallows, as as high as a stripad ; the three mothers and their three daughters were set before him, being gravidato, whose sorrowful hearts, and eye-gushing tears for their sin and shame, were lamentable to behold ; the incestuous bugerono, begging still mer-

cy and pardon for dividing their legs, and opening their wretched wombs. Lo, there is the chastity of the Romish priests, who, forsooth, may not marry, and yet may miscarry themselves in all abominations, especially in sodomy, which is their continual pleasure and practice. Returning to Geneva, and acquainting the magistrates with his confession, for they are great intelligencers, I wrote this literal distich.

Glance, glorious Geneva, gospel guiding gem :
Great God, govern good Geneva's ghostly-game.

The lake of Geneva is sixteen leagues in length, and two broad. At the south-west end whereof standeth the town, through whose middle runneth the river Rhone, whose head and body beginneth from the lake among the very houses. The nature of which river is not unlike to Nilus ; for when all other rivers decrease, (being in summer), this increaseth. The reasons proceeding from the excessive snow that lies upon the Sangalian and Grifonean Alpes, which cannot melt till about our longest day, that the force and face of the sun dissolve it ; and so ingorging the lake, it giveth Rhone such a body, that it is the swiftest river in Europe. The town, on both sides the flood, is strongly fortified with rampered walls, and counterbanding-bulwarks ; the ditch without, and about, being dry, is strongly palafadoed with wooden stakes, for preventing of sudden scalades *. Many assaults have this handful of people suffered by land and water, from the Duke of Savoy ; the recital whereof

* Towards the lake all the port is fenced with double and triple rows of huge posts driven into the water, with only a narrow passage for the boats, which is shut up every night with large chains, and on the land-side are bastions, with several other works and ditches.—The Dukes of Savoy have made several attempts formerly on this city ; and an anniversary celebration of its deliverance from one of these in the year 1602, is observed still every 22d day of December.—Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

would plunge me in prolixity ; and therefore committing that light-shining Sion, And her religious Israelites, to the tuition of the Almighty, I step over the Alpes to Turin.

Here is the residence of the Dukes of Savoy, whose beginning sprung first from the house of Saxony : For Berold, or Berauld, being a near cousin to the Emperor Otton the third, and brother to the Saxon Duke, the Emperor gratified him with these lands of Savoy, and parts of Piemont ; where he and his successor continued four hundred years under the title of *Earls*, until the Emperor Sigismond, at the council of Constance, did create Amet, the eighth Earl of his name, Duke. And so beginning with him, to this present Duke now living, named *Charles Emanuel*, there have been only eight Dukes, and some of them of short lives. And yet of all the Christian Dukes, the most princely court is kept here, for gallants, gentry, and knights.

The first beginning of the Duke of Savoy.

At the same time of my being there, this present Duke had wars with his own brother-in-law Philip III. about the marquissate of Montferrat, and dutchy of Mantua, the issue whereof but retorted to the Duke a redoubling disadvantage ; though now it be gone from the Gonsagae to the French Duke of Naviers. This country of Piemont is a marvellous fruitful and plain country, and wonderfully populous, like to the river-sides of Arno round about Florence ; insomuch, that a Venetian demanding a Piemont-cavalier, What Piemont was ? replied, It was a town of three hundred miles in circuit ; meaning of the habitations and populousity of the soil.

The rest of the surnames of the Italian Dukes are these, viz, that of Parma, is *Fernese*, signifying part-ridges ; that of Modena, is *Astie* ; that of Florence, *de Medicis* ; that of Urbino, *Francesco Maria* ; and the last Duke of Mantua, *Gonsaga* ; the dutchy of Ferrara being dissolved, is converted to the Pope's patrimony.

Leaving Piemont, and coasting the sassinous shore of

Genoa's reviero, I reached Leghorn, the great Duke's sea-haven ; where I left Mr Bruce with a galley-captain, a voluntary soldier : and inclining alone to Florence, by the way at Pistoia, I found a comfortable cross ; for I viewing the market-place after supper, and carry-

A comfortable cross.

ing a French poniard in my pocket, the head of it was espied by a badgello, captain of the sergeants, who straight gripped me, bore me to prison, and clapped me in a dungeon, robbing me of all my monies and poniard ; and posting that night to Florence, on the morrow shews the justice there a stiletto of his own ; upon which, I was condemned to row in the galleys for a year, else to pay an hundred duckets. He staid three days : in this time was I discovered to the governor of Pistoia, a noble gentleman, and being brought before him, and acquainting him with the undeserved cruelty of the badgello, nor that ever I wore a stiletto, but under pretext of that, had robbed me of seventy-two pieces of gold : Whereupon, the governor perceiving the knavery of the villain, and that he had not acquainted him with my apprehending, to whose place it belonged, he grew impatient, and forthwith sent post to his Highness, shewing him the truth of the business : Whereupon the badgello was sent back to the governor, with whom I was domesticly reserved ; and being accused before my face of his roguery, could not deny it. Well, my gold and my poniard is restored again, the Badgello banished the territory of Pistoia for ever, with his wife and children ; and I received, in compensation of my abuses, from his Highness's chamber, or treasury there, fifty Florentine crowns of gold, being modified by the Duke himself : whereat I extolled the knave that wrought his own wreck in seeking my overthrow, and brought me such a noble reward.

Thanking God for this joyful cross, and approaching Florence, I found one John Brown there, whose company I took to Sicily, Whence, having privately

passed

passed Rome, and publicly Naples, we footed along the marine by Salerno; and courting Cousenza, the capital seat of Calabria, where a vicegerent remaineth, we reposed there certain days.

Cousenza in Calabria.

The town is of no quantity nor quality; in regard of the obscureness and solitariness of the country, the better sort of their gentry living at Naples. Having left the Lower, and entered the Higher Calabria, we arrived at the bourge of Allauria; and the next morning traversing close and couvert mountains, twelve miles along, in the midst of our passage, we were beset with four banditti, and four guns; to whom holding up my hands, and imploring for our lives, shewing them mine adventures, and former travels, they unbend their firelocks, and reading my patent of Jerusalem, uncovered their heads, and did me homage, notwithstanding they were absolute murderers. Our lives and liberty are granted, and for a greater assurance, they took us both unto a great thicket of wood, where their timbered cabin stood, and there made merry with us in good wine, and the best cheer their sequestrate cottage could afford.

And now, because there were forty more banditti, their companions, among these mountains, one of themselves, for our safeguard, came along with us, and as near Castellucia as he durst; making me swear, that I should not shew the baron of that place of their private residence, neither that I met with them at all; which I freely did; and so gave him many hearty and deserved thanks.

These banditti, or men-slayers, will come into any free town in the night, when they please, and entering either a church or hospital; they stay there as they list, conducting with their friends, their wives, and their affairs; being as safe in these places, as though they had not committed any criminal fact; neither may the power of justice reach to them, so long as they keep themselves within doors.

The liberty of banditti in Calabria.

This is an ancient liberty which Calabria hath ever retained, and so it is through the most part of all the Spanish dominions. Having arrived at Castellucia, the baron thereof made much of me, and wondered that I had safely passed the mountains ; for, said he, when I go for Naples, I am forced to go by sea, notwithstanding I have forty in train.

The next day, in passing Montecilione, the fairest and most fruitful bounded bourge in all Calabria Superior, I saw an uncovered house, which, the people told me, had been the school where Dionysius the third and last tyrant of Sicily, (after his flight from the kingdom and crown), taught children privately nine years, ere he was known to be a king, but a poor schoolmaster.

This higher Calabria, though mountainous, aboundeth in delicious wines, fine pasturage, and exceeding good silk. The peasants for the most here are addicted to eat onions : whence arose this proverb, *I Calabrese magniano di cepoli*, The Calabrians feed upon onions. Their women wear uncomely habits, being hooded from their brows to their backs behind, with six or seven fundry colours of cloth or stuff ; whose upper gowns come no farther than their middle thighs ; and their breeches and stockings being all one, and their legs half-booted, they look like the ghostly Armenian Gargosons.

I remember, in passing this higher country, I found divers cassales or terraes (small villages) of certain Greeks called *Albaneses*, whose predecessors had fled from Albania when the Turk seized upon Epire, and this their province : and were privileged here to stay by the Spaniard Philip the first ; and though exiled from their natural patrimonies, (*Omne solum forti patria est*), yet are they exceeding kind to strangers, measuring largely their own infranchised fortune, with the voluntary exposement of many unnecessary viadants. Declining thence to the marine bourge of Molino, being by land, which we footed, distant from

Greek Albaneses fled to Calabria.

**Bayerische
Staatsbibliothek
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Gavin Jnr.

*Two Sicilian Barons kill'd in Combat
being both in Love with the Same Lady.*

from Naples four hundred miles, we crossed the narrow faro, or Sicilian euripus, to Messina, being two miles broad; where, when landed, and meeting with a young Scots Edinburgh-man, William Wylie, come from Palermo, and bound for Venice, I fastened John Brown with him to accompany his return; and on the following day embarked them both back for Calabria.

And now having followed the Italian saying, *Si miglior a star solo come mala accompagnato*, "It is better for a man to be alone, than in ill company," I traversed the kingdom to Trapundie, seeking transportation for Africa, but could get none; and returning thence overthwart the island, I call to memory being lodged in the bourge of Saramutza, belonging to a young baron, and being bound the way of Castello Francko, eight miles distant, and appertaining to another young noble youth, I rose, and marched by the break of day, where it was my luck, half way from either town, to find these beardless barons lying dead, and new killed in the fields, and their horses standing tied to a bush beside them; whereat being greatly moved, I approached them, and perceiving the bodies to be richly clad with filken stuffs, easily conjectured what they might be, my host having told me the former night, that these two barons were at great discord about the love of a young noble woman; and so it was: for they had fought the combat for her sake, and for their own pride lay slain here. For as fire is to gun-powder, so is ambition to the heart of man, which, if it be but touched with self-love, mounteth aloft, and never bendeth downward, till it be turned into ashes.

*Two young
barons killed
at combat.*

And here it proved, for that lady's sake, that *trop-po amore* turned to *presto dolore*. Upon which sight, to speak the truth, I searched both their pockets, and found their two filken purses full loaden with Spanish pistoles: whereat my heart sprung for joy; and taking five rings off their four hands, I hid them and the

two

two purses in the ground, half a mile beyond this place ; and returning again, leaped to one of their horses, and came galloping back to Saramutza ; where, calling up my host, I told him the accident, who, when he saw the horse, gave a shout for sorrow, and running to the castle, told the lady the Baron's mother ; where, in a moment, she, her children, and the whole town, run all with me to the place ; some clad, some naked, some on foot, and some on horse ; where, when come, grievous was it to behold their woful and sad lamentations. I, thus seeing them all mad and distracted of their wits with sorrow, left them without good-night ; and coming to my treasure, made speedy way to Castello Francko, where bearing them the like news, brought them all to the like distraction and flight of feet.

Well, in the mutability of time there is ay some fortune falleth by accident, whether lawful or not, I will not question. It was now mine that was lost theirs ; and to save the thing that was not lost, I travelled that day thirty miles further to Terra Nova. Whence, the next morning being early embarked for Malta, and there safely landed, I met with a ship of
A London ship London, called the *Matthew*, bound for
called the Constantinople, lying in the road ; where
Matthew. indeed with the company I made merry ashore for three days ; and especially with one George Clark, their purser ; who striving to plant in my brains a Maltezan vineyard, had almost lost his own life.

Upon the fourth day, they hoisting sail, and I staying ashore, it was my good luck, within eight days, to find a French ship at Toulon, come from the Levant, and bound for Tunis, by the way in going home ; with whom desirously consoorted, within three days we touched at our intended port. And now, to reckon the gold that I found in the aforesaid purses, it amounted to three hundred and odd double pistoles ; and their rings, being set with diamonds, were valued to a hundred zechins of Malta, eight shillings the piece, which I dispatched

patched for less : but the gold was my best second, which, like Homer's Iliad under Alexander's pillow, was my continual *Vade mecum*.

Tunis is the capital seat of its own territory, and of all the east and lower Barbary, containing ten thousand fire-houses. And it is the place where old Carthage stood, that was built by the Tyrians and Phœnicians of the Holy Land, seventy-two years before Rome, and had twenty miles in circuit ; which city, in these times, was the sovereign queen of Afric, and the only envy and predominant malice of the Romans, being more than Rome's rival-mate in greatness, glory, and dominion. Nevertheless, in the end it was taken, sacked, and burnt, by Scipio Africanus, six hundred and two years after Rome was first founded ; and her ruins, and large territories without, made subject to the ambition of Rome.

After which detriment, desolate Carthage was rebuilt by Cæsar, and a colony of Italians transported there, flourished for a time, till it was destroyed and over-run by the Goths and Vandals ; and lastly subdued by the Saracens and Moors, It was by them transmitted to the Turkish power, who now is master of it, being no way answerable to the sixth part of the greatness it had before. This town is situated in the bottom of a creek, where the sea, for a mile, having cut the bosom of the land, maketh a large and safe resting-place for ships and galleys ; which haven and town is secured from sea-invasions by the great and strong fortrefs of Galetto, built on a high promontory that toucheth the sea, and commandeth the mouth of the bay ; wherein a Turkish Bashaw, and a strong garrison of soldiers, remain ; the fort itself being well provided with arms, men, artillery, and ammunition.

The kingdom of Tunis comprehended once the whole country that the ancients called properly *Afric*, or *Little Afric*, being the old Numidia ; and was divided then into these five provinces, Bugia, Constantine, that

that of Tunis, Tripoly, and Ezzebba. In the town of Bugia, lying half-way betwixt Tunis and Algier, and forty leagues from either, being now called *Arradetz*, there were ancient beautiful temples, colleges, magnificent buildings, hospitals, and convents, after their fashion; but the town being taken, and razed, *anno* 1508, by Peter King of Navarre, it hath remained ever since without beauty or ornament, save a few rustic inhabitants.

The province of Constantine lieth betwixt Tunis and Bugia; the town Constantine, *The maritime* now Abirouh, being capital, and was first named *provinces be-* *Cortez* and *Julia*. It is surrounded with rocks and ancient walls, containing eight hundred fire-houses, wherein are the relicks of a triumphant arch, formerly built by the Romans: and in this province, sixteen leagues within land, was the town of Hippo, now Bosen, whereof St Augustine was bishop.

The territory of Tunis lieth betwixt the borders of Abirouh westward, and the limits of Tripoly eastward, being of length eighty miles; and on the sea-coast lieth the town Biserta, adorned with a commodious haven, and six galleys, the most wicked of condition, and the most quick in flying or following, of all the corsairs in Turkey. Tripoly in Barbary (commonly called so) was once drowned by the sea; but now its situation was transported safely a little more southward, which sometime was beautified with merchants of Genoa, Ragusa, and Venice, but now become a den of thieves and sea-pirates; and so are all the sea-towns betwixt Egypt and Morocco.

The last province of the kingdom of Numidia is Ezzebba, lying east from Tripoly, and bordering with Cyreno, a pendicle of Egypt. The chief part whereof is Messaick, being twenty-four leagues from Tripoly, containing many villages and towns on the plains and mountains, abounding in silks, corns, and divers fruits.

All these five maritime provinces have but narrow inland, not advancing southward from the sea-coast above forty miles. Here in Tunis I met with our English captain, General Waird, once a great pirate, and commander at sea ; who, in despite of his denied acceptance in England, had turned Turk, and built there a fair palace, beautified with rich marble and alabaster stones ; with whom I found domestics fifteen circumcised English renegadoes, whose lives and countenances were both alike, even as desperate as disdainful. Yet old Waird, their master, was placable, and joined me safely with a passing land-convoy to Algier ; yea, and divers times, in my ten days staying there, I dined and supped with him, but lay aboard in the French ship.

*An English
pirate, Capt.
Waird.*

At last, having obtained my passport from the Bashaw there, and surety taken for my life and money, I embraced the land-way with this convoy, consisting of forty Moors, and a hundred camels loaden with silks, dimities, and other commodities, traversing the fore-said regions of Abirouh and Arradetz. In all which way (lying nightly in a tent) I found a pleasant and fruitful country, abounding in wines, rye, barley, wheat, and all kinds of fruits, with innumerable villages, and so infinitely peopled, that it made me wish there had been none at all ; otherwise that they had been Christians, and so more civil.

The greatest enemy I met with in this journey was the sun, whose exceeding heat was intolerable to endure, being in September, *anno* 1615 ; but for provision of water, wine, and victuals, we had abundance. Upon the seventh day of our course, we entered in the country of Tremizen, formerly Mauritania Cæsarea. This kingdom hath, to the west, Mauritania Tingitana, containing the empire of Morocco and Fez ; on the south, Getulia, or desert Numidia ; on the east, with the rivers of Mulvia and Amphlaga, the marches of Arradetz ; and on the north, the Mediterranean sea, opposite

*Tremizen in
Barbary.*

posite to Sardinia. The country is in length, from the east to the west, twenty-five of their courses, and of our miles about three hundred; and of breadth, between the sea and Getulia, no more than thirty English miles.

This kingdom, copious in all things, hath been oft and ever molested with the Numidian Saracens, or bastard Arabs, who, falling down from the mountains, do run their career at random upon the ground-toiled Moors, to satisfy their needy and greedy desires. Tremizen, or Telenfim, had of old four provinces, but now only two, its own territory, and that of Algier;

whose capital town being, too, called *The town of Tremizen decayed with wars.* Tremizen, contained once eighteen thousand fire-houses. But in regard of Josephus King of Fez, who besieged it seven years, overmastering it, and then subdued by Charles V. and likewise the

Turks invasion of it, and finally, because of the long wars betwixt the Seriff, or King there, and the Turk, it is become a great deal less, and almost disinhabited, and the most part of that country subject to the authority of the Bashaw of Algier.

At last, upon the twelfth day of our leaving Tunis, having arrived at Algier, abandoning my conduct with a good respect, I staid in a Spaniard's house, turned runagate, who kept a roguish tavern, and a ground-planked hospitality. In all this way of a hundred and twenty miles, I paid no tribute; neither had I any imminent peril, the country being peaceable, though the people uncivil.

This town of Algier was formerly under subjection to the kingdom of Tremizen; but because of insupportable charges, it revolted, and surrendered to the King of Arradetz or Bugia. Afterwards it was under the King of Spain, from whom

The thievish town of Algier. Barbarossa did take it anno 1515, being now under the Turk; and is situate upon the pendicles of a sloping height, and standeth triangular. The side next the sea

is strongly fortified with earth-backed walls, bulwarks, and artillery; but the semisquared land-walls are of small importance, and easily to be surpris'd; and three miles in circuit, containing thirty thousand persons.

There is a Turkish Bashaw here, and a strong garrison of six thousand Janizaries, with two hundred corsairs ships, or pirates, who, ever preying upon Christian traders, by their continual spoils and prizes, have made the devilish town wonderful rich, and become the inveterate enemy of Christendom; being now a kingdom of itself, and in length, from east to west, between the towns Terracot and Guargola, one hundred and twenty miles. It hath a long-reaching mould in the sea, that maketh a safe harbour for their ships against northerly winds, which on that coast are deadly dangerous. At this time, the greatest part of the town were fled to the mountains, to shun the parching heat that beateth violently on the plains and sea-shore. All the maritime towns of Barbary do the like every summer, for the months of July, August, and September; which then being left half-naked of defence, it were the only time for Christians to invade or surprize their towns.

I found here abundance of slaves, most of them Spaniards, whom they daily force within the town to bear all manner of burdens here and there, and without the town to drudge in the fields, among their vines and corns, and other hard labours, abusing them still with buffets and bastinadoes, as their perverseness listeth. Neither durst I leave my lodging, unless I had three or four Christian slaves to guide me, and guard me too from the wicked vulgar, who bear no respect to any stranger or free Frank. Here I remarked a wonderful policy in the Turkish state, concerning these theftuous and rapinous towns of Barbary; who, as they are ordained ever to plague and prey upon the Spaniard, yet under that colour, they

*A natural
sublime policy*

seize upon all other Christian ships,
goods,

goods, and persons, as they please, the French nation excepted; and so they do, notwithstanding of our several ambassadors lying at Constantinople, who rather stay there as mungrels than absolute ambassadors. For why should Christian princes mediate for peace and commerce with the Turk, when theirs, with his subjects the barbarian Moors, have no safety? they being obedient to his laws, and over-ruled by Bashaws, as well as those of Asia and eastern Europe are. From which I gather, as from all other like examples, that there is a more sublime overmastering policy, subtilty, and provident foresight, in mere natural men, as Turks be, than in our best grandees, for all their sciences and school-studies, can either perceive or perform, far less prosecute. To which avowed dangers, if any small ship, ruled by rash fellows, should adventure within the straits, as too many English do, being unable, and unprovided for defence, and so are taken and captivated, and afterward redeemed by contributions over the land, I justly affirm it, they deserve rather to be punished, and remain there in punishment, than any relief or redemption to be wrought for them, who will nakedly hazard themselves in known perils, without ordnance, ammunition, and a ship of sufficient burden.

But to return: The maritime provinces which lie between Egypt and Ceuta, overgainst Gibraltar, being the straits, are these, Cyrene, Barca, Marmorica, Ezzebba, the Tripolian jurisdiction, the kingdoms of Tunis, Abirouh, Arradetz, Tremizen, Algier, and a part of Fez; extending to two thousand three hundred maritime miles. All which, by ignorant seamen, and ruvid Moors, is termed *Barbary*, who cannot distinguish parts nor provinces, but even as the oriental Turks do, that denominate all Asia Minor under the name *Carmania*, and know no further of their ancient nor particular titles.

Now, as concerning their customs, it is the fashion
of

of all these Barbarian Moors, in marrying of their wives, that after the bridegroom and the bride are in-rolled by their Totsecks, or priests, in the mosque, before the parents of each party, and the bride presently brought home to the house of her husband, accompanied with all their friends, music, and revelling, he immediately withdraweth her to a private chamber, having only one old woman standing by them in a corner of the room; where he lying with the bride, and she being found a maid, by a certain cloth laid under her privy place, which being by the old hagg drawn out, and found sprinkled with spots of blood, she presenteth it first to him, as a token of virginity; and then forthwith runneth through the house, among all the friends of the new married couple, crying with a loud voice, and carrying the bloody napkin in her hand, "The virgin-bride is broken up." Whereat they all rejoice, giving rewards and good cheer to the cryer. But if the bride be not found a maid, then he returneth her back unto her parents; which they account as an immortal shame, and the nuptial feast, and all the assistants thereunto, are suddenly dismissed; but if a virgin, the banquet continueth all the first day, with great cheer, dancings, revellings, with musical instruments of divers sorts.

*The trial of
Moorish
brides.*

The second night is only the feast of women for both parties. And the third banquet is made on the seventh day after the nuptial; the provision of which the father of the bride sendeth to the house of his new son-in-law; where, after this banquet, and the seventh day, in the next morning the bridegroom goeth then abroad from his house (which he doth not till the aforesaid time) unto the market-place, where he buyeth a number of fish, to carry with him to his dwelling as a sign of good luck, it being an ancient custom through the most part of all the northern Afric.

The men and women at such meetings dance apart, each of them having their own music and orders of merriment.

Y

They

They have also a custom, when that infants begin to breed teeth, their parents will make a solemn feast to all the children of the town, with divers ceremonies; which custom they preserve yet in divers parts of Italy.

The women through all Barbary wear abundance of bracelets on their arms, and rings in their ears, but not through the nose and lips, as the Egyptians do; and turn also the nails of their hands and feet to red, accounting it a base thing to see a white nail. The men here, for the most part, are the best archers and horsemen that are in Afric, and take great pleasure in breeding of their barbs. So they are both active and courageous, and very desperate in all their attempts, being all of the Mahometan religion, though more ignorant thereof than the Turks; some whereof are subject to the Turk, some to the Emperor of Morocco, and some to their own barbarous princes.

And now it was my fortune here in Algier, after twelve days abode, to meet with a French lapidary,

Monf. Chatteline, a French lapidary. Mons. Chatteline, born in Aix du Provence, who intending to visit Fez, joined company with me, and we with certain merchants of Algier that were going thither, being in all thirty passengers,

with two Janizaries and a dragoman.

Whence advancing our way, some on mules, and some on foot, with asses carrying our baggage and provision, we left the maritime towns of Salee and Tituan, far to the west, on our right hand, and facing the inland, we marched for three days through a fruitful and populous soil: and although the people's barbarous and disdainful countenances were awful, yet we two went still free of tributes, as not being a thing with them customary, to execute exaction on Franks, as the Turks and Moors do in Asia; neither understood they what we were, being clad with company, and after their fashion; save only that nature had set a fairer stamp on my face than theirs, which often I wished had been as black as their ugliness. In this journeying,

journeying, mixed with pain and pleasure, we found every where strong wines, abundance of excellent bread, and the best and greatest hens bred on the earth, with plenty of figs, fruits, olives, and delicious oil; yea, and innumerable villages, the houses whereof are all built with mud, and platformed on their tops; and so are they in Asia, and all Afric over.

Upon the fourth day, having passed the plains, we entered into a hilly country, yet pasturable; where I beheld, here and there, clouds of tents, filled with maritime people, that were fled hither from the sea-coast for the fresh and cooling air.

And upon these pleasant and umbrageous heights I saw the fields overclad with flocks of sheep and goats; which sheep are wondrous great, having from their rumps and hips broad and thick tails growing, and hanging to the ground, some whereof, when fold, will weigh sixteen, eighteen, or twenty pounds weight, and upwards. Here, among the mountains, our company knowing well the country, took a great advantage of the way; and on the seventh day, in the morning, we arrived at the great town *My arrival*
of Fez; where the Frenchman and I *at Fez.*
were conducted by some of our compa-

ny to a great Moorish inn or tavern; and there received: we were as kindly and respectfully used as ever I was in any part of the Turk's dominions, being now out of them, and in the empire of Morocco.

This city of Fez is situate upon the bodies and twice double sloping faces of two hills, like to Granada in Andalusia in Spain, the interval or low valley between both (through which the torrid river of Murraheba runneth southward) being the centre and chief place, is the most beautiful and populous part of the city; the situation of which, and of the whole, is just set under the tropic of Cancer.

Over which river, and in this bottom, there are sixty-seven bridges of stone and timber, each of them being a passage for open streets on both sides. The interval consisteth of two miles in length, and half a mile broad;

wherein, besides five Chercasss, or market-places, there are great palaces, magnificent mosques, *Great colleges* colleges, hospitals, and a hundred palatiate taverns, the worst whereof may lodge a monarch's train. Most part of all which buildings are three and four stories high, adorned with large and open windows, long galleries, spacious chambers, and flat tectures, or square platforms.

The streets being covered above, betwixt these plain-set fabrics, have large lights cut through the tectured tops every where; in whose lower shops or rooms are infinite merchandise, and ware of all sorts, to be sold.

The people of both kinds are cloathed in long breeches and bare ankles, with red or yellow shoes, shod with iron on the heels, and on the toes with white horn; and wear on their bodies long robes of linen or dimity, and silken waistcoats of divers colours. The behaviour of the vulgar being far more civil toward strangers than at Constantinople, or elsewhere in all Turkey.

The women here go unmasked abroad, wearing on their heads broad and round caps, made of straw or small reeds, to shade their faces from the sun; and damnable libidinous, being prepared both ways to satisfy the lust of their luxurious villains; neither are they so strictly kept as the Turkish women, marching where they please.

There are twelve thousand allowed brothel-houses in this town, the courtesans being neatly kept, and weekly well looked to by physicians; but worst of all, in the summer-time, they openly licentiate three thousand common stews of sodomitical boys; nay, I have seen at mid-day, in the very market-places, the Moors buggering these filthy carrions, and, without shame or punishment, go freely away.

There are several seats of justice here, (though none to vindicate beastliness), occupied by Cadeis and Sanzecks, which twice a-week hear differences and complaints.



Gavin Sc.

Habit of a Woman of Fez in Africa

plaints. Their chief Seriff, or vicegerent, being sent from Morocco, is returned hither again every third year.

The two hills on both sides of the planured city, east and west, are over-clad with streets and houses of two stories high, being beautified also with delicate gardens, and on their extreme sloping parts, with numbers of mosques and watch-towers ; on which heights, and about the town, there stand three hundred wind-mills, most part whereof pertain to the mosques, and the two magnificent colleges erected for the education of children in the Mahometan law *.

*The beauty
and greatness
of Fez.*

One of which academies cost the King Habahenor in building of it, four hundred and sixty thousand ducats. Jacob, son to Abdulach the first king of the families of Meennons, divided Fez in three parts, and with three several walls ; though now invironed with only one, and that broken down in fundry parts.

The chief mosque in it is called *Mammo Currarad*, signifying the glory of Mahomet, being an Italian mile in compass, and beautified with seventeen high ground

* This is the largest city in all Africa, and is divided into the new and old city ; or rather, it consists of three different cities, built at different times, under one and the same name, with magnificent palaces, seraglios, schools for propagating the Mahometan faith, &c. — The river Fez, dividing itself into six branches or canals, runs through most parts of the city ; on these, are three hundred and seventy mills, mostly for corn, and about two hundred and fifty stone-bridges. Of about five hundred mosques computed here, about fifty of them are well built and endowed ; one of which is said to be half a league in compass. Here above two hundred inns, very large and convenient ; but excepting these resorted to by Christians, are receptacles for all sorts of debauchery ; the most infamous and unnatural crimes being committed, barefaced and with impunity. Fez is computed to have about three hundred thousand inhabitants, five thousand of which are Jews. It swarms with men of all trades and professions, also with merchants ; this being the general magazine of Barbary. It lies twenty-eight leagues south from the Mediterranean, thirty-three E. from the Atlantic ocean, and about 260 N. E. of Morocco. Lat. 33, deg. 58. min. N. ; Lon. 4, deg. 25. min. W. — Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

steeple, besides turrets and towers ; having thirty-four entering doors : being supported within, and by the length, with forty-eight pillars, and twenty-three ranges of pillars in breadth ; besides many isles, choirs, and circular rotundoes : every pillar having a lamp of oil burning thereat, where there, and through the whole mosque, there are every night nine hundred lamps lighted ; and to maintain them, and a hundred Totsecks and preaching Talismans, the rent of it extendeth to two hundred ducats a-day ; nevertheless there are in the city besides it, more than four hundred and sixty mosques, fifty whereof are well benefited, and superb-

The magnificent mosques of Fez.

ly decorated, within and without, with glorious and extraordinary workmanship, whose roofs within are all Mosaic work, and curiously indented with gold, and the walls and pillars being of grey marble, interlarded with white alabaster ; and so is the chief mosque too, in which Monsieur Chatteline and I went three sundry times, accompanied with our Moorish host, who from their priest had procured that licence for us. This city aboundeth in all manner of provision fit for man or beast, and is the goodliest place of all north Afric, containing an hundred and twenty thousand fire-houses, and in them a million of souls. Truly this is a world of a city, and may rather second Grand Cairo, than subjoin itself to Constantinople, being far superior in greatness to Aleppo. For these are the four greatest cities that ever I saw, in the world, either at home or abroad.

The citizens here, are very modest, and zealous at their divine services, but great dancers and revellers on their solemn festival days, wherein they have bull-baiting, masquerades, singing of rhymes, and processions of priests. The Moors of Fez and Morocco, in times past, had divers excellent personages, well learned, and very civil ; for amongst the Mahometan kings, one cannot too much praise the Kings Almanfor, Maunon, and Hucceph, being most excellent men in their superstition.

In whose times, flourished the most famous physicians,

ficians, and philosophers, that were among the Pagans, as Avicenne, Rafis, Albumazar, Averroes, &c. with other great numbers maintained by the kings of Morocco, that then were masters of all Barbary and Spain: as in Spain may be yet seen (though now fallen in decay) a great number of their colleges, shewing they were great lovers of their religion and doctrine, and are so to this day; save only in their drinking of wine, forbidden by their Alcoran. They were great devisers, too, of gallant sportings, exercises, tournaments, and bull-baiting, which Spain retaineth to this day; yea, and the Romans did learn, and follow many of them.

Here, in Fez, there be a great number of poets, that make songs on divers subjects, especially of love and lovers, whom they openly name in their rhymes, without rebuke or shame. All which poets, once every year, against Mahomet's birth-day, make rhymes to his praise: mean while, in the afternoon of that festival-day, the whole poets assembling in the market-place, there is a dasked chair prepared for them, whereon they mount, one after another, to recite their verses, in audience of all the people; and he who by them is judged to be best, is esteemed all that year above the rest, having this epithet, *The Prince of poets*, and is by the vicegerent and town rewarded. But in the time of the Meennon kings, the prince, on that day, in his own palace, did convene the whole citizens, in whose presence he made a solemn feast to all the best poets; causing every one of them to recite the praise of Mahomet before his face, standing on a high scaffold: and to him that was thought to excel the rest, the king gave a hundred sultans of gold, an horse, a woman-slave, and the long robe that was about him for the time; and to each of the rest he gave fifty sultans; so that every one had some recompence for their pains. Indeed a worthy observance, and would to God it were now the custom of our European princes to do the like, and especially of this isle, then would the bravest wits, and quickest brains, study

*Poets among
Barbarians
in great re-
pute.*

and strive to show the ingenuity of their style and pregnant invention, which now is eclipsed and smothered down, because, now adays, there is neither regard nor reward for such excellent penmen. Fez was anciently named *Sylda*, whose kingdom has Atlas to the south, the river of Burdraga to the east, and Tremizen Morocco to the west; and the confines of Guargula and a part of the sea to the north. Having spent in Fez

seventeen days, in all which time we daily conversed with some Christian Abasines, Heragens or Ethiopian negroes, some whereof were merchants, and some religious; and Monsieur Chatte-line's business not effected, seeking diamonds and precious stones to buy, was seriously advised by them, to go to Arracon, a great town on the frontiers of the northern Æthiopia, where he would find abundance of such at an easy rate; giving him a perfect direction for his passage thither, being thirty days journey: he concluded with their counsel his resolution, and persuading me to the same intention, I yielded, being overmastered with the greedy desire of more sights.

Meanwhile, for our conduct, we hire a dragoman Moor, that spoke Italian, to be our interpreter, and with him a tent, and two Moorish drudges, to guide, guard, and serve us, by the way, for fifty-eight sultans of gold, eighteen pounds four shillings English: having six of their kinsmen fast bound to a sanzack or justice, for our lives, liberties, and money.

Hereupon, having provided ourselves with all necessary things, and a mule to carry our victuals, water, and baggage, we discharged our unconscionable hostage, at twenty aspers a-day the man, being thirty-four shillings to each of us; and were brought on our way, by the aforesaid Christian Heragens, four leagues: where, having left them, with dutiful thanks, we set forward on our journey, and for seven days together we were not violently molested by any thing save intolerable heat, finding tented people and scattered villages all the way.

The eighth day the way being tiresome and rocky, and Chatteline on foot, he succumbed, and could not
subsist,

subſiſt, not being uſed to travel on foot; and, for our better ſpeed and his relief, we mounted him aloft on the top of our baggage. *Chatteline the French lapidary falls ſick.* At laſt arriving at Ahetzo, (where we repoſed) being the furtheſt and ſouthmoſt town of the kingdom of Fez, compoſed of a thouſand fire-houſes, well fortified with walls, and a garrifon of Moors in it, ſubject to the Emperor of Morocco, the Frenchman, long ere day, fell ſick of a burning fever; whereupon we ſtaid five days, expecting his health; which growing worſe and worſe, and he mindful to return, which I would not, I left him in ſafe cuſtody, and one of our drudges to attend him to Fez. And bearing the charges of the other two, according to the former condition, I ſet forward for my purpoſe, which ere long turned to ſad repentance.

Leaving Ahetzo behind us, and entering the country of the Agaroes, we found the beſt inhabitants half clad, the vulgar naked, the country void of villages, rivers, or cultivage; but the ſoil rich in beſtial, abounding in ſheep, goats, camels, dromedaries, and paſſing good horſes: Having an Emeer of their own, being ſubject to none, but to his own paſſions, and them, to the diſpoſition of his wicked nature; yet he and they had a baſtard-ſhow of the Mahometan religion. Their cattle are watered with ſources, and the paſtoral fields with the nightly dew, and themſelves with the wateriſh concavity of the earth. In our ſix days toil, traверſing this country, we had many troubles and ſnarlings from thoſe ſavages; who ſometimes overlaboured us with baſtinadoes, and were ſtill inquiring what I was, and whither I went; yea, and it was difficult enough for the dragoman to ſave my life and liberty.

Having paſt the perverſeneſs of this calamity, upon the ſeventh day we encountered with another ſoil, and a worſe tribe of the Hagans or Jamnites, moſt part whereof were white Moors, a people more ugly than the Negroes; yet ſome of the better ſort had their members

The tribe of the Hagans or Jamnites.

members covered, but of condition far more wicked than the former.

They are ruled by a Seriff, whose guard is composed of women, and young Balars, pages; seeming rather to live without religion, than acknowledging any kind of deity. Here my Dragoman doubting of his passage, and the difficulty of the country, which arose from his ignorantness thereof, was inforced to hire a Hagan guide, to bring us to the province of Abadud, bordering with Æthiopia. But our guide having led us for five days together south-eastward, and almost contrary to our purpose; in the sixth night, he stole away, while we slept, either for fear or falsehood, mistaking our journey, or deceiving us for despite, the half of his wages being paid him before. Well, the villain gone, I and my Dragoman the next day continuing our faces in the same direction, we were long ere night involved in a disinhabited country, being a desert, and dangerous for wild beasts, and full of mountains. Pitching our tent near to a rock, we burnt all that night shrubs of Tara, to affright the beasts of all kinds, and so did we every night of that woful wandering, which flaming light, their nature cannot abide. Day come, and our comfort yet fresh, we sought further in, thinking to find people and tents to relieve us with victuals, and inform us of the country; but we found none, nor for seven days thereafter. The matter growing hard, and our victuals and water being done, we were forced to rely upon tobacco, and to drink our own pifs, for the time aforesaid.

The soil we daily traced was covered with hard and soft sands, and them full of serpents, being interlarded with rocky heights, faced with caves and dens; the habitation of wild beasts, whose hollow cries, as we heard in the night, so we too often saw their bodies in the day, especially jackals, bears, and boars; and sometimes cymbers, tygers, and leopards, against whom in the day-time, if they approached us, we either shot off a harquebuss, or else flashed some powder in the air; the smell whereof no ravenous beast can abide.

*The wild
beasts of the
Libyan de-
sarts.*

This

This vast wilderness is a part of the Berdoans country, one of the four tribes of the old Libyans, the Sabuncks, the Carmines, and the southern Carolines, being the other three. And now to help the expression of my grievous distress and miseries, my muse must lament the rest.

Ah ! fightless desarts, fill'd with barren sands,
 And parched plains ; where huge and hilly lands
 Have stone-fac'd scurrile bounds : O monstrous fear !
 What destiny drove my cross'd fortune here ?
 By day I'm scorch'd with heat, by night the grounds
 Are clad with beasts, whose rage sends horrid sounds
 Of dreadful death ; whence we to shun their ire,
 Are forc'd to fright them with bright Tara fire ;
 For if it were not that they scar'd at light,
 No man could walk, or rest safe in the night.
 Then next, and nigh, the crawling serpents lurk
 Still under foot some stung-swoln smart to work ;
 Which move the sands like seas, in seeking shade ;
 Where, 'mongst their linking rolls, I'm forc'd to
 wade :

Whose necks like legs are round, their bodies strong,
 With black spread backs, their length full two yards
 long :

Yet whilst I cut and crush their warbling womb,
 I point their death ; their skin I make their tomb.
 But worst, I'm hunger-bit and starving, slain
 With pinching want ; a fore-sunk gnawing pain :
 O helpless torture ! second'd with great drought
 And fiery thirst, that scab my lips and mouth ;
 Where, for fine liquor as my heart would wish,
 Strefs'd wand'ring I am forc'd to drink my piss ;
 So turns my food to smoke, the smoke to ashes,
 Which twice a-night we three do spend in flashes ;
 Last casts my face the skin, my skin the colour,
 And spewing forth fled joys, I drank in dolour.
 Thus with the torrid zone am I oppress'd,
 And lock'd 'twixt tropics two, which me invest.

Where,

Where, for relief I pierc'd the heavens with cries,
 And cut the clouds, to grieve the azure skies
 With sighs and groans ; yet careful to regard
 My curious drifts had got their just reward.

But to shorten my discourse of barren wildernesses, supposed to be a part of the Libyan deserts, my dragoman, upon the fourth day of seven, being three, falling into despair, and wondering to see me endure such heat, such hunger, and such toil, did threaten me with death, to make me seek back for our nearest refuge : whereupon, holding our course north-east, my compass-dial being our guide, we met early on the eighth day with nine hundred savages, naked Libyan Sabunks, five hundred whereof were women, armed with bows and arrows, who, with their accomplices, the former night had put to the sword three hundred Berdoans, their neighbour-tribe, carrying away above six thousand sheep and goats, besides other cattle ; from whom, after our fight of their Emir or prince, we had first liberty of life, and then relief of food ; for he came up in the rear, with an hundred horsemen charged with half-pikes, headed at both ends with sharp steel. The

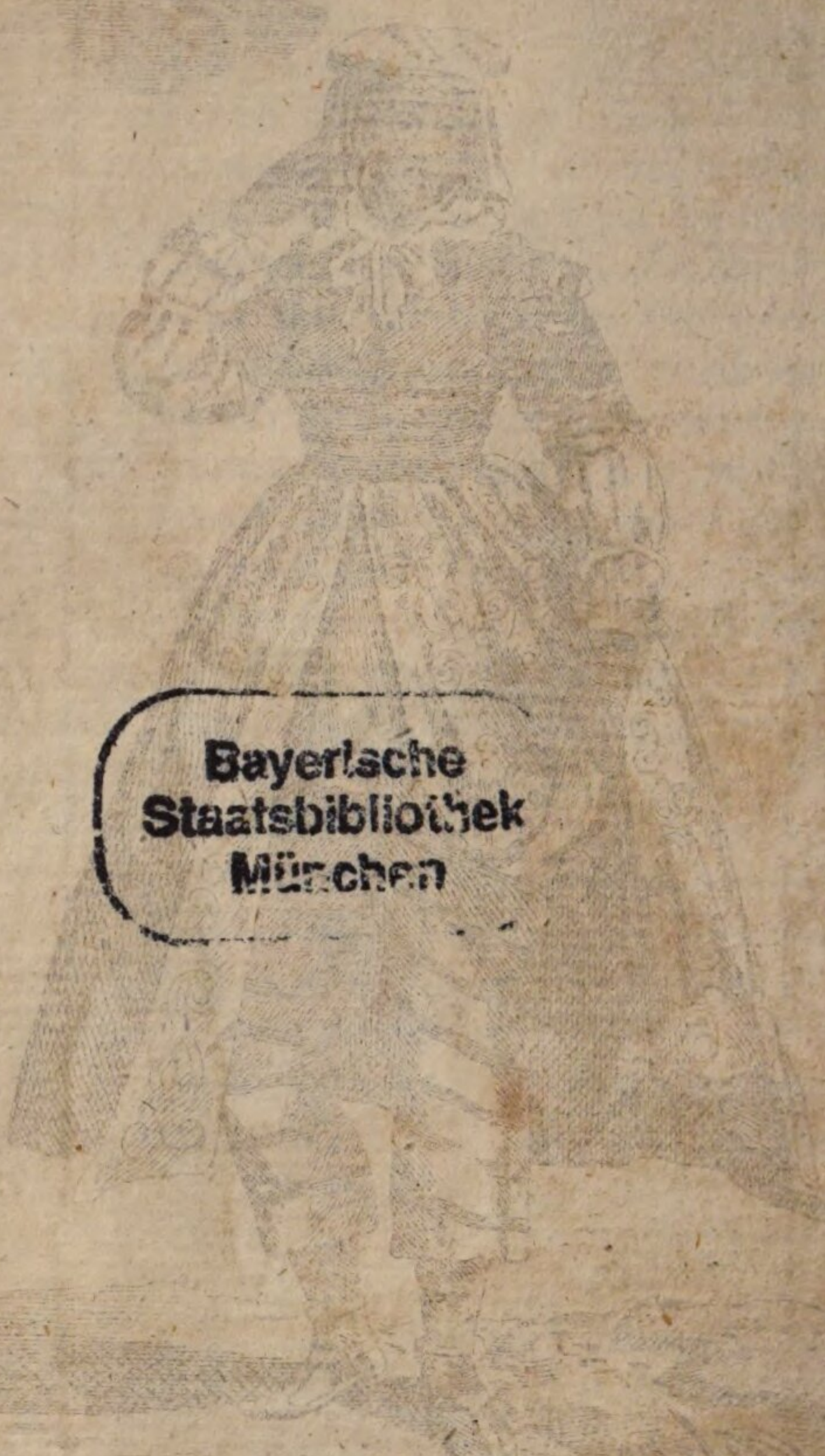
The Prince of the Sabunk's apparel. person of their prince was only cloathed from his breasts down to his middle thigh, with a crimson veil of silk hanging on his naked shoulders with coloured ribands, and on his head a party-coloured shash, set like a garland. Both his knees were

bare, so were his ankles, the calves of his legs being girded with crimson silk, and on his feet yellow shoes ; his beard was like his face, burnt with the sun, and his age was like to my own, of thirty-three years. His religion is damnable, so is his life ; for he and all the four tribes of Libya worship only for their God, garlick ; having altars, priests, and superstitious rites annexed to it : thinking garlick, being strong of itself, and the most part of their food, to have a sovereign virtue in an herbal deity. All his courtiers were stark
 naked

To front Page 348.



*The Author in the Desarts of Lybia, meets
with the Prince of the Sabunks, who presents
him with his Bow & Quiver of Arrows.*



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naked except his page, who was even covered like to the king his master.

And now having dismissed his army for the way, and falling in an hour's parley with us, at his departure he complimented me with his bow, and a quiver of arrows, which afterward I presented to his Majesty, then prince.

There is a merry secret here concerning the women, which often I recited to King James of blessed memory, shewing him also three certificates of this my desert wandering; one of which was confirmed by English Waird at Tunis, upon the Dragoman's report; though now they, with all my other patents, are lost in the inquisition of Malaga. This former savage prince sends a guide with us four days journey, the condition of his man's wages being made by himself, and frankly advised us, that Tunis was our best and nearest recourse. Which being forcibly considered, I was constrained to renew my bargain with the Dragoman, at the rate of forty five sultans of gold, to bring me safely hither.

This Sabunk guide, to whom I gave five sultans, thirty-five shillings, brought us through the most habitable vallies, and best clad passages of the country, with tents; where, every day once, we found water, bread, garlick, and onions, and sometimes hens at twenty aspers the piece, two shillings; which we would roast, or scorch dry, (if truth may have credit), at the very face of the sun, and so eat them. Upon the fifth day, our guide leaving us in the afternoon, well settled among four hundred tents of Numidian Moors, or bastard Arabians, pitched in a pleasant valley, between two sources of water, we staid still there reposing ourselves, and refreshing our bodies with victuals, for nine days.

Here, among these tents, I saw smiths work out of
cold

*Moorish
smiths for-
ging horse-
shoes out of
cold iron,
without fire,
by the heat of
the sun.*

cold iron, horse-shoes, and nails, which is only mollified by the vigorous heat and rays of the sun, and the hard hammering of hands upon the anvil; so have I seen it also in Asia. I could be more particular here, but time, paper, printing, and charges, will not suffer me. And now from hence renewing our guides from place to place, and descending from savage Moors to civil Moors, we arrived (though with great difficulty and danger) safely at Tunis.

And to conclude this eighth part, there are three Beglerbeg-ships in the Higher and Lower Barbary; the first is at Tripolis, which was taken in by Sinan Bassa, from the knights of Malta, 1551, and commandeth under him eight thousand Ti-

mariots, besides six thousand Janizaries. The second is at Tunis, the Beglerbeg whereof being of great authority, commandeth under him twelve sanzacks, and thirty-five thousand Timariots; the third is that of Algier, whose bashaw hath under him fourteen sanzacks, and the command of forty thousand Timariots. These are all the beglerbegs the great Turk retaineth in Africa, except the great Visier Bashaw of Egypt; although in Asia Major and Minor, he commandeth, in several provinces and kingdoms, thirty bashaws or beglerbegs.

P A R T. IX.

*Tunis being sightless left, I sought the isle,
 Of little Malta, famous for the style
 Of honour'd knighthood, drawn from great St John,
 Whose order, and the manner, I'll expone.
 Whence coasting Sicily, a tripled view
 I took of Ætna; time discussing you
 A miracle of metal; for its kind
 Is nurs'd by rain, and suffled up with wind:
 And crossing Italy, the Venice-gulf,
 Carindia, Carneola, the stiff-stream'd Dolf;
 Headstrong Danubio, Vienna, Austria's Queen,
 And kind Moravia, set before my een;
 To Hungary I came, and Vallechy,
 The Transilvanian soil, and Moldavy.
 Whence fighting Polle, and many Scotsman's face,
 I kiss'd Sigismond's hands, at Warsaw place:
 Whence Swethland I, and Denmark last bewray,
 Norvegia too, in my sought London-way;
 Where been arriv'd, safe on the brow of Thames,
 To court I came, and homag'd Royal James.*

AND now my wish, and my arrival, being both
 desirous, for a while I settled in Tunis, and dis-
 patched my Dragoman, and the other Barbarian hire-
 ling, with a greater consideration, than my two former
 conditions allowed me; yet being urged to it by Cap-
 tain Waird's decerniture, I freely performed his direc-
 tion. My conductor gone, and I staying here, Cap-
 tain Waird sent twice one of his servants with me, to
 see two fundry ovens drawn, being full of young chick-
 ens,

*The hatching
of chickens
without their
mothers.*

ens, which are not hatched by their mothers, but in a furnace. The method is thus : The oven is first spread over with warm camel's dung, and upon it the eggs, closing the oven. Then behind the oven there is a daily conveyance of heat, venting through a passage beneath the dung, just answerable to the natural warmth of the hen's belly ; upon which moderation, within twenty days, they come to natural perfection. The oven producing at one time three or four hundred living chickens ; and where defection is, every sharer beareth a part of the loss ; for the hatcher or curator is only recompensed according to the living numbers he delivereth. Surely this is an usual thing almost throughout all Africa, which maketh hens with them so plenty every where *.

And now it was my good fortune, after five weeks attendance for transportation, being about the 14th of February 1616, to meet here with a Holland ship, called *the Mermaid of Amsterdam*, being come from Tituana, and bound for Venice and Malta, who touched here by the way. During the time of their stay, came one Captain Danfer, a Fleming, who had been a

* Amidst the curiosities observable at Cairo, that of the hatching of chickens is none of the least. This is performed by heating ovens of so temperate a heat, as to imitate the natural warmth of the hen, and putting eight thousand eggs in an oven; the chickens are produced in about twenty-two days. This employment is continued four months in the year, during which some hundred thousand chickens are hatched in this manner, and sold. If it happens to thunder, great numbers of the chickens miscarry; besides, the chickens thus hatched, often want a claw, a rump, or are some other way imperfect. I have been informed, that only the people of one village are masters of the art; and that at the proper time of the year, they spread themselves all over Egypt.

The great Duke of Florence sent for persons employed in thus producing chickens, who actually performed the same art with success in his dominions. The late celebrated M. Reaumur, after many experiments, found it practicable in France, and has shewn the manner of doing it in a work on that subject.—Bishop Pocock's travels in Egypt.

great

great pirate, and commander at seas, and the only inveterate enemy of the Moors, being employed by the French king in ambassage, to relieve two and twenty French barks that were captivated, done by the policy of the bashaw, to draw Danfer hither, notwithstanding that he was then retired, and married in Marseilles.

*Captain
Danfer's em-
ployment.*

Well, he is come, and anchored in the road, accompanied with two French gentlemen; two of which came ashore, and saluted the Bashaw in Danfer's behalf. They are made welcome, and the next day the Bashaw went frankly aboard of Danfer, seconded with twelve followers. Danfer took the presence of the Bashaw for a great favour, and feasted him with good cheer, great quaffing, founding trumpets, and roaring shots, and none more familiar than the dissembling Bashaw, and overjoyed Danfer, that had relieved the barks; for they were all sent to him that morning, not wanting any thing.

After deep cups, the Bashaw invites him to come ashore the day following, and to dine with him in the fortrefs; to which unhappy Danfer consented; and the time come, he landed with twelve gentlemen, and coming near the castle, was met with two Turks to receive him: where, having passed the draw-bridge, and the gate shut behind him, his company was denied entrance; where, forthwith Danfer being brought before the Bashaw, was strictly accused of many ships, spoils, and great riches, he had taken from the Moors, and the merciless murder of their lives; for he never spared any. Whereupon he was straight beheaded, and his body thrown over the walls into a ditch; which done, off went the whole ordnance of the fort, to have sunk Danfer's two ships; but they, cutting their cables, with much ado escaped; but, for the other gentlemen ashore, the Bashaw sent them very courteously and safe-

*The untimely
death of
Captain Dan-
fer, a Fle-
ming born.*

ly aboard of the redeemed barks, whence they hoisted sails for Marfeilles.

Lo, there was a Turkish policy, more sublime and crafty than the best European alive could have formed. A little while thereafter, the aforesaid Hollander being ready to go for sea, I bad good night to generous Waird, and his froward runagates; where, being embarked, and with prosperous winds, upon the third day, we landed at Malta; and there leaving my kind Flemings, and their negotiation, I went a-shore, saluting again my former host.

The fifth day of my staying here, I saw a Spanish foldier and a Maltezen boy burnt in ashes, for the public profession of sodomy; and long before night, there were above an hundred bardaffoes, whorish boys, that fled away to Sicily in a galliot, for fear of fire; but never one bugeron stirred, being few or none there free of it. The knights that remain here, as they are of divers nations, so have they divers manners and inclinations; howsoever, they of the better sort are resolute in their atchievements.

The Maletze anciently did adore the goddess Juno, whose temple was superbly adorned with rich decorations, and to which, for homage and devotion, came all the inhabitants of the circumjacent isles, bringing rich presents and gifts; and they were also honoured with the temple of Hercules, the ruins of which appear to this day.

Now, as for their order of knighthood, the oath which is made at their receiving the order of St John, or of the religion of the Holy Hospital of Jerusalem, is thus: "I vow, and promise

The formal oath of all the knights of Malta. to God, to the most blessed Virgin Mary the Mother of God, and to our glorious patron St John the Baptist, that, by the grace and help of heaven, I

shall ever be obedient to the superior that God and this religion have appointed; and from henceforth, that I shall live chaste, forsaking marriage, and

and all other lusts, and to be without proper possession of any thing that may be mine."

After this, the chapel-clerk, a priest of the order, receiving him with divers ceremonies, taketh a black cloak in his hand, and shewing him the white cross that is fixed thereon, demandeth if he doth not believe that to be the sign of the cross whereon Jesus Christ was crucified for our sins; he confesseth it, kissing the cross: after which, his receiver putteth the cross of the cloak upon the heart and left-side of the new-made knight, saying, "Receive this sign in the name of the Trinity, the blessed mother of God, the Virgin Mary, and of St John the Baptist, for the augmentation of the Catholic faith, the defence of the Christian name, and service of the poor; also we put this cross on thy left-side, to the end that thou mayest love it with all thy heart, and with all thy right hand, for to defend it: And if, in fighting against the enemies of Jesus Christ, thou shalt happen to fly, and leave this holy sign behind thee, thou shalt of good right be deprived of this holy religious order, and of our company." This done, he knitteth the cordon of the cloak about him, saying, "Receive the yoke of our Lord that is sweet and light, and thou shalt find rest for thy soul." This spoke, he kisseth the cordon, so do all the knights standing around, and there are made unto him divers orations and precepts contained in the book of their ordinances. They have a priesthood too of this same order, being mass-priests, that wear this badge of the white cross.

Now bidding farewell to Malta, and to mine afore-said country-gentleman William Douglas, I landed the next morning at Sicily in Cicilia, being twenty leagues distant. And now this being the third time of my traversing this kingdom, (triple experience, deeper knowledge), I begin to give you a perfect description thereof.

Sicilia was first named *Trinacria*, (whose figure is
Z 2
Triquetra),

The first denomination of Sicilia. Triquetra), for that being triangular, it jutteth into the sea with three promontories; Capo di Coro, south; Capo di Pasara, west; and Capo di Faro, east: The length of each triangle, from point to point, being two hundred miles.

*Terra tribus scopulis vastum procurrit in æquor,
Trinacris a positu, nomen adepta loci.*

An isle with corners three, outbraves the main,
From whence the name *Trinacry* it doth gain.

It was called *Sicilia* from the Siculi or Sicani, who possessed it, and hath been famous in all former ages: By Diodorus Siculus it was called *the Paragon of isles*; by Titus Livius, *the garden of Italy*: It was also anciently called *the Grange of the Romans*, and is never a whit decayed to this day.

The length of the island lieth east and west, in circuit six hundred, and fifty broad, and in length two hundred and forty Italian miles. The *The fertility of Sicilia.* soil is incredibly fruitful, excelling in all sorts of grain, as corns, wheat, wine, sugar, rice, oil, salt, allum, all kinds of fruits, wholesome herbs, exceeding good silk, excellent mines of metal, and the best coral in the world is found here, beside Trapundy; growing under the water green and tender; but when arising above, it becometh red and hard. The like whereof is said to be found in the Red Sea, and gulf of Persia.

The most of the towns and villages within land are builded on the highest hills, and greatest heights in the country. The reason is twofold: First, it serveth them for strength, and is a great defence in time of corsair invasions, of which divers are so strait in ascending, that one may easily resist and beat down five hundred. The second is, because their dwellings being far above the parching plains, these situations are good preservatives for their health, whereon

whereon they have a sweet and cooling air, which, in such a hot climate, is the sovereign salve to prevent sickness.

Their villages are far distant, some six, ten, fifteen, twenty, miles one from another, in all which grounds there is no sequestrate house, unless (being a highway) it be a fundaco, or inn. About the sides of the hill, whereon their towns stand, grow all their wines, and on the plains nothing but red wheat, which for goodness is unparalleled; and the best bread, and abundance of it in the world is here. Sicilia was formerly divided into three regions, to wit, the valley of Demonia, containing Ætna, Catagna, Messina, and that angle of Cap di Faro, of old Pelora; the other, the valley of Nettia, containing Syracusa, Terra Nova, and the angle of Cap di Coro, of old Lilybea; and the third was the valley of Malzara, containing Palermo, Trapundy, Malzara, and the angle of Cap di Passero, old Pachinum. Many think, that Sicilia was rent from Italy by the violence of waters at the general deluge, some by great earthquakes; and some simply conjecture the cause to have proceeded from combustious Ætna, which is mere ridiculous.

*The ancient
division of Si-
cilia,*

There are divers grounds and valleys in this isle, that abound so in wheat, that the inhabitants receive an hundred measures for one, and commonly are called *the Fields of an hundred measures*.

The Sicilians, for the most part, are bred orators, which made the Apulians term them, *Men of three Tongues*: Besides, they are full of witty sentences, and pleasant in their encounters; yet, among themselves, they are full of envy, (meaning their former kindnesse unto strangers), suspicious and dangerous in conversation, being lightly given to anger and offences, and ready to take revenge of any injury committed. But indeed I must confess, more generous than the Italians, who murder their enemies in the night; for they challenge one another to single combat, and that manfully, without fraudulent practices.

*Sicilians are
brave ora-
tors.*

They are curious, and great lovers of novelties, and full of quickness and rare inventions in all kinds of sciences, great intelligencers and lovers of histories; as I found in divers of them who knew the passages formerly of my country so exquisitely, that I was astonished at their relations, so agreeable with the truth, and times past. The parliament of Sicily hath a wonderful great authority; insomuch that the viceroy cannot have the free gift, (as they call it), which is every third year, nor no extraordinary thing, nor the renewing of any matter concerning the commonwealth, without the general consent of the whole kingdom. The general council whereof is composed of three *The great council of Sicilia.* branches, called by them, *the Arms of the kingdom*, viz. first, the prelates and inferior clergymen, named *the Arm ecclesiastic*; secondly, of Barons, called *the Arm military*; and the third, the commissioners of cities and towns, intitled *the Arm Signiorial*. The crown-rent of this kingdom, amounteth to a million and a half of ducats yearly; which being disbursed ever for entertaining of captains, garrisons, and galleys, and corsair-ships, the badgelloes, and servants for the fields, the maintaining of towers and watches about the coasts, the reparation of colleges, highways, Lords pensions, and other defrayings, there rests little or nothing at all to the king.

I remember in my twice being in this kingdom, (especially the second time, wherein I compassed the whole island, and thrice traversed the middle parts thereof from sea to sea), I never saw any of that nation beg bread or seek alms; such plenty abounds here. And I dare avow it, (experience taught me), that the poorest creature in Sicily eateth as good bread, as the best prince in Christendom doth. The people are very humane, ingenious, eloquent, and pleasant: their language, in many words, is nearer the Latin than the Italian, which they promiscuously pronounce: somewhat talkative they are, but effeminate; but generally wonderful kind to strangers. In the months of July and August,

August, all the maritime towns every year, are strictly and strongly guarded with them of the inland villages and bourges, both on foot and horse-back ; who are compelled to lie there at their own charges, so long as this season lasteth, in which they fear the incursions of the Turks ; but the rest of the year, these sea-coast towns are left to the vigilant custody of the indwellers.

This country was ever sore oppressed with rebels and banditti, until such time that the military Duke of Sona came to rule there as viceroy, *anno 1611* ; where, in the first year, he brought in five hundred, some whereof were hanged, some pardoned, and some committed to the galleys. So that within two years of his four years government, there was not one of them to be found in all Sicilia ; the like before was never seen in this region, nor one in whom Astrea's worth was more honoured, in fortitude of mind, and execution of true justice, than this Duke, before whose face the silly ones did shine, and the proud stiff-necked oppressors did tremble.

*The Duke of
Sona viceroy
of Sicilia.*

And, in a word, he was no oppressor of the subjects, (as many now be), to satisfy either licentious humours, or to enrich light-headed flatterers ; but serving justice he made justice serve him. For the equity of justice of itself can offend none ; neither of any will it be offended, unless the corrupt tongue and hand of the mercenary judge suffer sound judgement to perish for temporary respects, which this noble governor could never do, neither suffer any inferior magistrate to do the like under him ; as it well appeared by his just proceedings against the Jesuits of Palermo, and the authority imposed upon them in spite of their ambition. The circumstances whereof were very plausible, if time permitted me ; and yet my patience could perform it with pleasure.

And likewise against a seminary gallant, a parochial priest

An equitable justice for injustice sake. priest of that same city, who had killed a knight's servant in a brothel-house, the brother of a shoemaker; which fellow the viceroy caused to pistol the priest in spite of the cardinal, and thereupon absolved him for the dead.

The cardinal having, only for the priest's fact, discharged him to say mass for a year, without satisfaction for the man's life; so the Duke inhibited the shoemaker to make shoes for a year; and nevertheless allowed him two shillings a-day to maintain him for that time.

Many singular observations have I of his government; to recite which would prove tedious, though worthy of note to the intelligent man. He was afterward Viceroy of Naples, and now lately deceased in Spain. It is dangerous to travel by the sea-coast creeks in the west parts, especially in the mornings, lest he find a Moorish frigate lodged all night, under colour of a fisher-boat, to give him a flavish breakfast: for they steal labouring people off the fields, carrying them away captives to Barbary, notwithstanding of the strong watch-towers, which are every one in sight of one another round about the whole island.

Their arrivals are usually in the night; and if in daytime, they are soon discovered. The towers giving notice to the villages, the sea-coast is quickly clad with numbers of men on foot and horseback; and oftentimes they advantageously seize on the Moors, lying in obscure clefts and bays. All the Christian isles in the Mediterranean sea, and the coast of Italy and Spain, inclining to Barbary, are thus chargeably guarded with watch-towers.

The chief remarkable thing in this isle, from all antiquity, is the burning hill of *Ætna*, called now *Monte Bello*, or *Gibello*, signifying a fair mountain; so it is, being of height, towards Catagna from the sea-side, fifteen Sicilian miles, and in circuit sixty. The north side, towards

towards Rindatza, at the root, being unpassable steep, yet gathering on all parts so narrow to the top, as if it had been industriously squared, having a large prospect to sea; about the lower parts whereof grow exceeding good wines, corns, and olives.

And now in my second travels, and return from Africa, I not being satisfied with the former sight, the kind bishop of Rindatza

*My second
view of Æt-
na.*

courteously sent a guide with me, on his own charges, to view the mountain more strictly. Ascending on the east and passable part, with tedious toil, and curious climbing, we approached near to the second fire, being twelve miles high, which is the greatest of the three now burning in Ætna; whose vast mouth or gulf is twice twelve score long and wide, lying in a straight valley between a perpendicular height and the main mountain, whole terrible flames and craking smoke is monstrous fearful to behold.

Having viewed and reviewed this, as near as my guide durst adventure, (the ground, meanwhile, whereon we stood warming our feet, and is dangerous for holes, without a perfect guide), we ascended three miles higher to the main top, or cima, from which the other two fires had their beginning. Where, when come, we found it no way answerable to the greatness of the middle fire; the other two drawing from it the substance, wherewith it hath been anciently furnished; yet between them two upper fires I found abundance of snow (being in July) lying on the north sides of the hill. It was here, in this upmost furnace, that Empedocles the philosopher cast himself in, to be reputed for a god.

— *Deus immortalis haberi*

Dum cupit Empedocles ardentem fervidus Ætnam

Insiluit ———

To be a god, this curious wretch desires,
And casts himself in the fierce Ætnean fires.

As

As we descended on the north-east side, we came to the third and lowest fire, which is within a short mile of the mountain's foot, overagainst Rindatza; and if it were not for a sulphurous river, which divideth the town and the hill, it would be in danger to be burnt. This last and least fire ran down in a combustible flood, from the middle above, *anno* 1614, June 25. where the

The lowest and third fire of Aetna. sulphur-streams, before it congealed, falling into a bituminous soil, where wine and olives grew, there ceased, and daily augmented more and more, having quite spoiled the lands of two barons in Rindatza. But the King of Spain, in recompence of their miserable mishaps, did gratify them with some of his crown-lands for their maintenance.

I speak it credibly, I have found the relicks of these sulphur streams, which have burst forth from the upmost tops of Aetna westward, above twenty miles in the plain. The reason of such ardent disgorgements is thus; that when the abundance of sulphur, being put on edge with excessive rain, and the bituminous substance still increasing, which by the chaps, flits, and hollow chinks of the ground, (rent partly by the sun, and by the forcing flames), is blown by the wind as by a pair of bellows; the vault or vast bosom of which ugly cell, not being able to contain such a compositure of combustible matter, it impetuously vomiteth out, in an outrageous torrent, which precipitately is-

The combustible matter issuing out of Aetna's fire. fueth forth, so long as the heat remaineth; and growing cold, it congealeth in huge and black stones, resembling mineral metal, and full of small holes, like to the composed cinders of a smith's forge, wherewith the houses of nine towns circumjacent thereunto are built *.

This

* Aetna, the highest mountain in Sicily, and a dreadful volcano. It is the first thing discovered in this island by sailors when at some distance. It appears like a prodigious chimney or column of fire, of an extraordinary size. It is of a circular form, and terminates in a

This is that place which the poets did report to be the shop of Vulcan, where Cyclops did frame the thunderbolts for Jupiter; whereof Virgil doth make his tract called *Aetna*. Under this hill the poets feign the giant Enceladus to be buried, whose hot breath fireth the mountains lying on his face. And to conclude of *Ætna*, the gross Papists hold it to be their purgatory.

The chief cities therein are Palermo, the seat of the Viceroy, situate in the north-west part, overagainst Sardinia. It is a spacious *Palermo*. city, and well watered with delicate fountains, having goodly buildings, and large streets, whereof Strado Reale is principal, being a mile long; in which I have seen, in an evening, march along for recreation, above sixty coaches, a pair of mulets being tied to every coach. The galleys of Sicilia, which are ten, lie here.

The second is Messina, toward the east, overagainst Rhegio in Calabria, being impregnable, and graced with a famous haven; having three invincible castles, the chief whereof is St Salvator, by the sea-side. There are divers other bulwarks of the town-walls, that serve for offensive and defensive forts, which is the cause (in derision of the Turks) they never shut their gates.

a peak. The lower parts abound in corn and sugar-canes; the middle parts have plenty of woods, olive-trees, and vines; and the peak is covered with snow the greatest part of the year. The prodigious quantities of burning matter often ejected from it, have caused a great deal of damage in the neighbourhood; but earthquakes, from time to time, attending these eruptions, have occasioned still greater desolations in the island. A dreadful stream of fire issues from it, like that of Mount Vesuvius in Naples. To mention only that of 1693, on the 9th, 10th, and 11th of January, when fifteen or sixteen towns, and eighteen estates, with the men and cattle, were swallowed up; besides many other towns, villages, and estates, mostly destroyed, near ninety-three thousand souls perished. This devastation fell in particular upon nine hundred and seventy-two churches and convents. Its last furious eruption was in the year 1753. — Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

The

The third is Syracusa, standing on the south-east coast fifty miles beyond *Ætna*, and half way betwixt Messina and Malta, a renowned city, and once the metropolitan seat. It is famous for the Arethusean springs, and Archimedes, that most ingenious mathematician. He was the first author of the sphere; of which instruments he made one of that bigness and art, that one standing within might easily perceive the several motions of every celestial orb. And when the Romans besieged Syracusa, he made such burning glasses, that set on fire all their ships lying in the road. At last he was slain by a common foldier in his study, at the sack of the town, to the great grief of Marcellus the Roman general, when he was making plots, and drawing figures on the ground, how to prevent the assaults of the Romans.

The fourth is Trapundy, in the west, overagainst Biseria in Barbary, which yieldeth surpassing fine salt, that is transported to Italy, Venice, Dalmatia, and Greece, made only in some certain artificial salt-pools, by the vigorous beating of the scorching sun, which monthly they empty and fill. The sea-coast here abounds with ruby coral, which setteth the half of the town at work; and when refined, is dispersed over all Christendom.

This city is in great request among the Papists, because of the miraculous lady here, reputed the island's protector, and sole governor of these narrow seas, for ships, galleys, and slaves; which indeed, if an image cut out in white marble was so powerful, it might be credible. But besides this idolatrous title, they superstitiously thereunto annex a rabble of absurd lies.

The fifth is Catagna, placed at the marine foot of *Ætna*, that was so vexed by Dionysius the tyrant. The sixth is Matzara, south-west, overagainst the Barbarian promontory of Lystra. The rest are, Kindatza, Terra Nova, Emma, whence Pluto is said to have stolen Proserpina, Malzara, Francavilla, Bronzo, Terramigna, and Argenti, once Agrigentum, where
the

the tyrant Phalaris lived, who tortured Perillus in the brazen bull, which he made for the destruction of others.

The tyrannies which were used in Sicilia were in times past so famous, that they grew unto this proverb, *Invidia Siculi non inveniunt tyranni tormentum majus.* The elder and younger Dionysius, were such odious tyrants, and the third Dionysius worst of all, that when the people poured out continual execrations on the last, wishing his death; only one old woman prayed for his life. She gave this reason, Since from the grandfather, his father, and he, each succeeding had been worse and worse; and lest (said she) he dying, the devil should come in his place, (for a worse never lived), I wish him to continue still.

The Sicilian tyrants.

This kingdom, after it was rent from the Romans, remained in subjection under the French till the year 1281; in which Peter of Arragon contrived his purpose so close, that at the sound of a bell to the evening vespers, all the Frenchmen in Sicilia were cruelly massacred; since which time it hath ever belonged to the house of Arragon, and now of Spain; which exploit masketh under the name of *Vesperis Siculi*. For nobility this island may compare with Naples, their styles (like unto Italy) are great, but their revenues wondrous small.

The Sicilians have a proverb, as having experience of both, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. And even as the Spaniard is extremely proud in the lowest ebb of fortune; so is the Frenchman exceeding impatient, cowardly desperate, and quite discouraged in the pinch of stern calamity. The Spaniard and the Frenchman have an absolute opposition, and conditional disagreement in all fashions; and in their riding, both different, and defective: for the Spaniard rideth like a monkey mounted on a camel, with his knees and heels alike aside, sitting on the saddle, like to a half-ballast ship

A true comparison between the French and Spaniards.

ship tottering on top-tempestuous waves; and the Frenchman hangeth in the stirrup, at the full reach of his great toe, with such a long-legged ostentation, pricking his horse with neck-stropt spurs, and beating the wind with his long waving limbs, even as the Turks usually do when they are tossed at their Byrham, hanging between two high trees, reciprocally waving in the air, from the force of two long bending ropes.

The Sicilian customs. The women ride here stridling in the saddle; and if double, the man sitteth behind the woman. The women also, after the death of their friends, keep a ceremonious mourning twice a-day, for a month's space, with such yelping, howling, shouting, and clapping of their hands, as if all Sicilia were surpris'd by the Moors; yet neither shedding tears, nor sorrowful in heart; for they will both hollow and laugh at one time. The same custom for the dead the Turks observe, and all the oriental people of Asia.

Finally, this island is famous for the worthy scholars she once produced; Archimedes, the great mathematician; Empedocles, the first inventor of rhetoric; Euclid, the textuary geometrician; Diodorus Siculus, that renowned historian; and Æschylus, the first tragedian of fame, who being walking in the fields, and bald through age, by chance an eagle taking his bald pate for a white rock, let a shell-fish fall on it, of that bigness that it beat out his brains.

But to proceed in my itinerary relation: Having twice embarked at Messina for Italy, from Asia and Africa, I have chused the last time (double experience, deeper knowledge) for the discourse of my departure thence.

My arrival at Messina. After a general survey of this island and Monte Bello, arriving at Messina anno 1616, August 20. I encountered with a worshipful English gentleman, Mr Stydolffe, Esq, of his Majesty's body, accompanied with my countryman Mr Wood, now servant to James Earl of Carlisle, who instantly were both come from Malta; the

the generous affability of which former gentlemen to me in no small measure was extended ; meeting also afterward at Naples, as in their own place shall be succinctly touched.

Here I found sixty Christian galleys, assembled to the fair of Messina, which holdeth every year the 17th of August, wherein all sorts of merchandise are to be sold, especially raw silk in abundance ; thirty of which galleys went to scour the coasts of Greece. Messina is four miles distant from Rhegio in Calabria, and two miles from the opposite main. This Rhegio was that town where St Paul arrived after his shipwreck at Malta, in his voyage to Rome. It was miserably sacked by the Turkish galleys of Constantinople *anno* 1609 ; but now by the Spaniards it is repaired with stronger walls, and new fortifications, sufficiently able to gainstand any such like accidental invasions.

During the time of my abode here, there happily arrived from Italy my singular good friend Mr Matthew Douglas, his Majesty's surgeon extraordinary, being bound also for the Levant, in the same voyage of the Christian incursions against the infidels, whose presence to me, after so long a sight of Ethnic strangers, was exceeding comfortable ; and did there present him with this sonnet, (which I made on *Ætna*), as the peculiar badge of my innate love.

High stands thy top, but higher looks mine eye ;
 High soars thy smoke, but higher my desire ;
 High are thy rounds, steep, circled, as I see,
 But higher far this breast, whilst I aspire.
 High mounts the fury of thy burning fire,
 But higher far mine aims transcend above ;
 High bends thy force, through midst of Vulcan's
 ire,

But higher flies my sp'rit, with wings of love.
 High press thy flames, the crystal air to move,
 But higher moves the scope of my engine ;
 High lies the snow, on thy proud tops I prove,
 But higher up ascends my brave design.

Thy

Thy height cannot surpass this cloudy frame,
 But my poor soul the highest heavens doth claim;
 Meanwhile with pain I climb to view thy tops,
 Thy height makes fall from me ten thousand drops.

Here, in Messina, I found the once great English gallant Sir Francis Verney lying sick in an hospital, whom six weeks before I had met in Palermo; who, after many misfortunes in exhausting his large patrimony, abandoning his country, and turning Turk in Tunis, he was taken at sea by the Sicilian galleys; in one of which he was two years a slave; whence he was redeemed by an English Jesuit, upon a promise of his conversion to the Christian faith. When set at liberty, he turned common soldier; and here, in the extremest calamity of extreme miseries, contracted death; whose dead corpse I charitably interred, in the best manner time could afford me strength, bewailing sorrowfully the miserable mutability of fortune, who, from so great a birth, had given him so mean a burial; and truly so may I say, *Sic transit gloria mundi*.

After sixteen days attendance for passage, there fortunately touched here twelve Neapolitan galleys come from Apulia, and bound for Naples; in one of which, by favour of Marquis Del Sancta Croce the general, I embarked, and so set forward through the narrow seas, which divide Italy and Sicilia; the strait whereof is twenty-four miles in length, in breadth, six, four, and two miles. This sea is called the *Faro of Messina*, and *Fretum Siculum*; at the west end whereof we met with two contrary chopping tides, which somewhat rushing like unto broken seas, did choke the galleys with a struggling force.

Incident in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charybdim.

Who strive to shun the hard Calabrian coast,
 On sandy Scylla wrestling they are lost.

Yet

Yet of no such eminent peril, or repugnable currents, as are in the friths of Stranza and Westra; especially Pentland frith, which divideth Caithness from Pomonia, the main land of Orkney; wherein, who unskilfully looseth from either sides may quickly lose sight, both of life and land, for ever. As we entered into the gulf of St Euphemia, we fetched up the little isle of Strombolo. This isolet is a round rock, and a mile in compass, growing to the top like to a pomo, or pyramid, and not much unlike the isolets of Bessé and Elsey, through the top whereof, as through a chimney, ariseth a continual fire, and that so terribly and furiously casting forth great stones and flames, that neither galley nor boat dare coast or board it.

*A comparison
of irrepugna-
ble streams.*

South from hence, and in sight thereof, on the north coast of Sicily, lie the two islands Vulcan Major and Minor; whereof the lesser perpetually burneth, and the greater is long since consumed. On the fourth day we touched at Ischa, the greatest isle belonging to Naples, and twenty miles in circuit, being strongly surrounded with rocky heights. The chief town is Ischa, whither Ferdinando of Naples fled, being thrust out of his kingdom by Charles VIII. *

There is a fountain here, of that incredible height,

* Ischia, a pretty town in the island of the same name. It lies on the north side towards the sea, and is the seat of a bishop who is under the metropolitan of Naples. It is defended by a strong fort, jutting out into the sea, on the south side of it, and joined to the island by a bridge. King Ferdinand of Naples made it his place of refuge, when Charles VIII. of France, in the year 1495, had, in a few days, over-run his whole kingdom. It hath also been subject, at all times, to dreadful earthquakes; so that the poets feigned this to be the place where Jupiter overwhelmed the Titan Typhon with his thunderbolts. It lies two miles from Messina cape, and eighteen west of the city of Naples. — Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

*A boiling
fountain in
the isle of
Ishca.*

that in a short time it will boil any fish or flesh put in it, and the taste agreeable to digestion. Departing from thence, and coasting the main shore, we had a Moorish frigate in chace; where seizing on her, we found sixteen Moors therein, and six Christians, three men, two women, and a boy, whom they had taken up in going between two towns by the sea-side. The peasants were set at liberty, and the Moors immediately preferred to chains of iron, bloody lashes, tugging of galley oars, and perpetual slavery.

Near the sea-coast, and in sight of Naples, we boarded close by the foot of the hill Vesuvio, which in time past did burn, but is now extinguished. It was here that the elder Pliny, who had spent all his time in discovering the secrets of nature, pressing near to behold it, was stifled with the flame, so that he died in the same place; which is most excellently described in the book of his epistles, by his nephew Pliny the younger.

Arriving at Naples, I gave joyful thanks to God for my safe return to Christendom; and the day following I went to review the ancient monuments of Puzzoli, or Puteoli; which when I had diligently remarked, in my return half-way to Naples, I met the aforesaid English gentleman, and Mr Wood, who needs would have me turn back to accompany them hither. When come, we took a guide, and so proceeded to take a view of the places. The first thing of any note we saw was the stupenduous bridge Caius Caligula built

*The antiqui-
ties of Puz-
zoli.*

between Puzzoli and Baia, over an arm of the sea two miles broad; some huge arches, pillars, and fragments whereof, remain unruined to this day. The next was the new-made mountain of sand, which hath dried up Lago Lucrino, being by an earthquake transported hither. At the foot of this sandy hill, we saw the remnants of Cicero's village.

Thence

Thence we came to the temple of Apollo, standing on the east side of Lacus Avernus, the walls whereof, and pendicle, (the covering excepted), are as yet undemolished.

This Lake Averno is round, and hemmed in about with comely heights, being, as our guide reported, infinitely deep, and in circuit a short mile. The west end whereof is environed with the mountain of Cuma, whither Æneas arrived when he fled from Dido Queen of Carthage, and sister to Pygmalion King of Tyrus.

Advancing our way along the brink of the lake, we came to Sybilla's cave. The entry being dark, because of the obscure passage *Sybilla's cave* hewed out, and cut through the main rock, our guide struck fire, and with a flambeaux marched before us. The first passage was exceeding high cyme, and the further end stopped with mouldering earth. Inclining to our right hand, we passed through a very strait and low passage, and so arrived in Sybilla's chamber, which is a delicate room, and artificially decorated with Mosaical work. Here, it is said, the devil frequented her company, and where she wrote her prophecies. From thence he conducted us through a most intricate and narrow way, (wherein we were forced to walk sidewise), to a large and vast room; the rocky vault whereof was hanging full of loose and long stones, many of which were fallen to the bottom.

This great cell or hall is a lyard deep of blackish water, and was the dining-room of Sybilla, in which, hearing toward the further *The old dining-room of Sybilla.* end a shrieking noise, as if it had been the chirking of frogs, the hissing of serpents, the buzzing of bees, or snarling of wolves, we demanded our guide from whence such a sound proceeded? Who answered, they were dragons, and flying serpents, praying us to return, for the fellow was mightily afraid: whereat I, laughing, replied, there was no such matter; and Mr Stydolffe desirous to know it, he only and I, leaving the other two

behind us, adventured the trial. Having more than half way entered in this cell, stepping on huge stones because of the water, and I carrying the flambeaux, for lack of air, being so far under ground, the light perished. Whereupon, we hollowed to our guide; but the reverberating echo avoided the sense of our words, neither would he, nor durst he, hazard to support us.

Meanwhile, it being hell dark, and impossible to find such a difficult way back, and tendering (as by duty) the worthy gentleman, I stepped down to my middle thigh in the water, wrestling so along to keep him on the dry stones. Where, indeed I must confess, I grew affrighted for my legs, fearing to be interlaced with water-serpents and snakes; for indeed the distracting noise drew still nearer and nearer us. At last, falling near the voice of our guide, who never left shouting, we returned the same way we came in, and so through the other passages, till we were in the open fields.

Here indeed, for my too much curiosity I was condignly requited, being all bemired and wet to the middle; yet forthwith the vigorous sun disburthened me quickly thereof. To be brief, from thence we came to the

The ancient varieties of the antiquities of Puz- zoli. Bagni, the relicks of Pompey's village, to the fort of Baia, and the labyrinth of Ciento Camarello, into the admirable fish-ponds of Lucullus, (the coverture of which is supported by forty-eight natural pillars of stony earth) to the detri- ments of Messina, Mercato sabbato, and

the Elisian fields. Thence, we returned by the sepulchre of Agrippina, the mother of the cruel Nero, who slit up her belly, to see the matrix wherein he was conceived; and by the two decayed temples of Venus and Mercury. Crossing over in a boat to the town of Puz- zoli, the chief monument we saw was the ancient temple of Jupiter, which serveth now for their domo or parochial church; the later idolatry of which is nothing inferior to the former.

Meanwhile the French gallies arrived here, fetching home Chevalier de Vandum the Prior of France, from
Malta;

Malta; who scouring the coast of the lower Barbary, their fortune was to fall upon a misfortunate English ship belonging to Capt. Pennington, which they, as a Cursaro, or man of war, confiscated. Their anchors fallen, I boarded the queen's galley; where, to my great grief, I found a countryman of special acquaintance, George Gib of Burrow-towns, (who was pilot to the English), fast chained to an oar, with shaven head and face, who had his own ship twice seized on by the Turks, and Mamora, which ship he lastly recovered at the isle of Sardinia, and sold her at Naples, being miserably worm-eaten. To whose undeserved miseries, in my charitable love, I made a Christian oath, that at my arrival in England, I should procure, by the help of his friends, his Majesty's letters to the Duke of Guise, admiral, for his deliverance. But soon thereafter, being of a great spirit, his heart broke, and so died in Marseilles.

*The master of
a Scots ship
distressed by
evil misfor-
tune.*

*Tempora labuntur, tacitisque senescimus annis,
Et fugiunt freno non remorante dies.*

Time slides away, grey hairs come posting on,
No rein can hold our days so swiftly gone.

Departing from Puzzoli, we came to the Sulphatara, where the fine brimstone is made, which is a pretty incircling plain, standing upon a moderate height; having three vents, through two of which the smoking flame ariseth, and the other produceth no fire; but after an excessive rain, swelleth six foot high with black boiling water, which continueth so long as the rain lasteth.

From thence (our guide leaving us) we came to Grotto di Cane, wherein, if a dog be cast, he will suddenly die, and taken thence, and cast in the lake, he will forthwith revive. This grotto or cave, standeth on the side and root of a sulphur-hill, the brink of

Lago di Avagno. We desirous to make trial of a dog, and finding the fellow that purposely stayeth there somewhat extortionable, I ventured, instead of a dog, to make trial of myself; whereupon, Mr Stydolffe holding up the quartered door, I went to the further end thereof, bringing back a warm stone in each hand from thence; whereat the Italians swore I was a devil, and not a man; for behold (say they) there was a French gentleman the former year, who, in a bravado, would needs go in; whereupon he was immediately stifled to death, and here lieth buried at the mouth of the grotto, to serve for a caveat, to all rash and unadvised strangers to do the like,

The dangerous dog's cave near unto Puzzoli. The relation indeed was true; but I counting nothing of it, would needs (fore against the gentleman and Mr Wood's will) go in again, where entered to the bottom, being ten paces long, the moisty and choking heat did so suffocate and benumb my senses, that with much ado I

returned back; where receiving the fresh air, and a little wine, I presently forgot my former trance; which when the dog-keeper saw, he, for an easy composition, made trial of his dog; and having tied a string to his hinder leg, he cast the dog scarce half way in the cave, where immediately his tongue hanging out, he fell down dead. And forthwith his master pulling him back, cast him in the lake, pouring water in his ears, but he could never recover his life. Whereupon, the poor man cried out, Alas! I am undone, what shall I do? the dog that won my daily food is dead; in compassion whereof, the worthy gentleman doubled his wages.

In our way, and return to Naples, we passed through Virgil's grot, being half a mile long, and cut through the main body of a rock, whereby the mountain of Cataia, by the sea-side, is made passable; at the east end whereof, near the cyme of the vault, is Virgil's tomb; and arrived at Naples, Mr William Stydolffe reporting to divers of his country gentlemen and mine, of my adventure

venture in Grotto di Cane, they could hardly be persuaded to believe it; but when avouched, they all avowed I had done that (so did divers Neapolitans) which never man had done before me, reserving life.

Bidding farewell to my generous friends, I marched through Terra di Lavoro, and in the way of St Germain, and Mount Caffino, to Rome. Within ten miles of Capua, I found the poorest bishop (*nomen sine re*), the world affordeth, having no more, (nor ever had he, nor any before him) than *dui Carolini* or *Juletti*, twelve pence a-day, to spend. So is there

many a marquis, earl, baron, and knight in Italy, who is unable at one time, to keep a footman at his heels, a dog at his foot, a horse between his legs, a good

Great poverty under great titles.

suit of clothes on his back, and his belly well fed, so glorious are their titles, and so miserable their revenues.

Touching at Rome, I secretly borrowed one night's lodging there, and at the break of day, another hour's sight and conference with my cousin Simeon Graham; who, ere the sun arose, crossing Ponto Flamingo, brought me on my journey, till a high-way tavern, like a jail, held us both fast; where leaving our reciprocal loves behind us, we divided our bodies east and west.

And now ere I leave Rome, I think it best to let our Papists here at home see the shameful lives, and cruel deaths, of most of their Popes beyond seas; which their own best authors in France, Italy, and Spain, have justly and faithfully avouched and recorded, and authorized also to light by their prime powers civil and spiritual. The Papists generally hold, that in their Popes, is all power; *Super omnes potestates, tam cœli quam terræ*; above all powers both in heaven and earth. They term him, *Alter Deus in terris*, a second God upon the earth; *Deus mortalis in terris, et immortalis homo in cœlis*; a mortal God upon the earth, and an immortal man in the heavens. Some of them have allotted that he is, *Non Deus, non homo, sed utrumque*; neither God, nor man, but both. The Pope's former title was, *Ser-*

vus servorum Dei, and they call him *Rex regum, Dominus dominantium*, King of kings, and Lord of lords.

Paul III. entering Tolentino, in the vale of Ombria, joining with Tuscany had this salutation, *The false and arrogant titles of the Pope.* *Paulo Tertio, maximo, in terris Deo*, to Paul III. the best, and greatest god on earth. Then, since they will have them gods, above the God of gods, tell me, I pray you, what a may-pole dancer was

John XII. *alias* XIII. of eighteen years old, who made the Lateran, their great church in Rome, a plain stew or brothel-house?

What a Pope-boy of twelve years old was Benedict IX. and after wrought by enchantments? Another Pope they had, whom they called *Unum pecus, in eo quod de mane faciebat gratiam, et de sero revocabat*; a very ass; for in the morning he would grant many great kindneses, and at night revoke them all again. What a thief was Pope Boniface VII. who robbed St Peter's church? What a sodomitical Pope was Sextus IV. who builded stews of both kinds, granting his Cardinals the use of sodomy for three hot months? What an atheistical Pope was Leo X. who called the gospel a fable? What an heretical Pope was Honorius I. who by six general councils was condemned for a Monothelite? What a perjured Pope was Gregory XII. and openly forsworn? What a necromancer was Sylvester II. who gave himself both soul and body to the devil, to obtain the Popedom? What was Pope John XI. but a bastardly brat to Pope Sergius? What a forcerer, charmer, and conjurer was Hildebrand, called Gregory VII. given to all beastliness and diabolical practices? This was he that threw the sacrament in the fire. What

A tract of beastly Popes and cruel villains. was Innocent III. who was branded with this black mark, *Non est Innocentius, imo nocens vere*, he is not Innocent, but very nocent? What a wicked and cruel murderer was John XII. a Roman born, who caused to cut off the nose of one

Cardinal, and the thumb of another; only because they

they had wrote the whole tract of his abominable vices to the Emperor Otho.

What an inhuman and homicide Pope was Stephanus VII? who after he had cancelled the decrees of his predecessor Formosus, caused take up his dead body, cut off his fingers, and lay him in the fields to be devoured with the fowls of the air. What a beastly Pope was Sergius III? that after he had imprisoned Christopholus his predecessor, caused to draw out the corpse of Pope Formosus his old competitor from the grave, and cut off his head, as though he had been alive.

What a cruelty was shown upon John XVII. who after he was deprived of his Papacy, had his eyes pulled out, his nose and his members, cut off, and was hanged. What a poisonable Pope was Damasus? who poisoned his predecessor Clemens II. to attain the Popedom, and yet died within a month thereafter being Pope? What a merciless Pope was Boniface VII. that after he had robbed St Peter's church and fled to Constantinople, hearing that Pope John XIV. was replaced, he returned, and pulling out his eyes, did cast him in prison, where he died of extreme hunger? What a persecution had Gelase, born in Gaetta near Naples, who first by the Romans was imprisoned, then stoned through the city, miserably died? Gregory VIII. succeeding him, was deposed by Caliste, brother to the Duke of Burgundy, who imprisoned the other, and starving him to death, made himself Pope.

What devotion fell out from the brains of Rome, to stone Pope Lucius II. to death? What a shameful division was in your Popedom for fifty years, when Pope Urbanus and his successors were Popes at Rome, and Clemens VII. and his successors at Avignon? Nay, you have had three Popes at one time;

even when Sigismond King of Hungary and Bohemia was elected Emperor, viz. Benedict III. at Avignon; John XXIII. at Bologna; and Gregory XII. at Rimini. I pray you, could every one of them open and

*Three several
Popes living
at one time.*

shut

shut the gates of heaven and hell? What an infidel was Pope John XXII. who denied the immortality of the soul?

What was Clement V. but an open whoremonger and a drunken sot? What was Boniface VIII? he was called a thief, a robber, and rooted in all unspeakable sins, the eighth Nero of Rome. What a furious and wicked Pope, was Julius II. ? who given more to war than to Christ, cast St Peter's keys (as they call them) into Tyber. What a profane scoffer of Christ, was Paul III. who lying in bed with his own cousin Laura Farnesia, was sore wounded by her husband? He lay with his own daughter, and poisoned her husband; and then lay with his own sister, and after poisoned both her and his own mother. What was Julius III. ? an open sodomite, and horrible blasphemer. What was Pope Eugenius ? a damnable scandalizer of the church, and condemned by the Council of Basil, for an incorrigible and wilful heretic. Pope John XXIII. was deposed by the Council of Constance, for heresy, simony, murder, enchantment, adultery, and worst of all, for sodomy. What was Pope John XIII. ? a vile

monster in his life, committing incest with both his sisters, and father's concubine Stephana. He was a gamester, and playing at dice, did call for help to the devil, and would drink the devil's health; he was replete with all abominable vices; at last being taken in the act of adultery, was wounded to death.

Boniface VIII. aforementioned, came to be Pope, by cozening his predecessor Celestine, in speaking through the wall in a reed (as if it had been a voice from heaven) admonishing him to surrender his Popedom; whose epithet was thus: *Intravit ut vulpes, regnavit ut lupus, mortuus est ut canis*. He came in like a fox, he ruled like a wolf, he died like a dog.

At the sixth Council of Carthage, was not the treachery and falsehood of Pope Zosimus, condignly searched into, in corrupting for ambitious government the

*The Papists
may look here
upon devilish
Popes.*

the council of Nice? Bernard about five hundred years ago, complained much of the tyranny of Popes in his time, calling them defrauders, raveners, traitors, darkness of the world, Pilates, wolves, and devils.

Albertus Magnus affirmeth, that they who now govern their church, are for the most part thieves and murderers, And Platina calleth some of their Popes vile monsters, unclean beasts, and strange creatures. And I remember it was noted by an historian, *Episcopos Romanos ne peccata quidem sine laude committere*, The Popes could do nothing, were it never so mischievous, but it was commendable.

And even likewise are their prime pardons, for *noxas præteritas, aut futuras*; and their future, *potestatem, tam quoad commissã, quam quoad committenda, crimina absolvenda*; "That his holiness hath all manner of power, as well to absolve them from crimes committed, as from crimes to be committed." And I remember, about twenty years ago, Paulo Papa Quinto, cannonized Carolo Borrameo, *A false canonized saint.* the late Bishop of Milan, for a notable saint, being known to be a notorious and wicked liver; done sooner, by fifteen years, than their ordinary time, and that for the touch of forty thousand duckets: allotting prayers, miracles, pardons, and pilgrimages to him, and erecting a new order of friars and monasteries unto him. And yet the poor Bishop of Lodi, a good and charitable man by all reports, could never, nor cannot attain to the dignity of a saint, his means was so small when dead, and his friends so poor, being alive.

And how wonderfully absurd is the Pope's *bullã di Sancta Cruzada, pro defunctis in purgatorio*; that for one *Pater noster* at a mass-saying, or a mass said for them, *Sicavano fuori dalla purgatorio tre anime qualche ci vogliono*, viz. "You shall relieve any three souls out of purgatory whom you please. Nay, I have seen the Pope's edict so gracious, that during one mass, as many *Paters* as you can recite, as many souls you free from thence.

And

And thus I think, in one half year, he might empty that purging-pit : yet unless the suppliant touch with his finger, during his prayers, a gaudy bead unrivalled between five small fast-made irons, placed before the altar, their bulla, their payment for it, their *Paters*, their devotion for their friends souls, are all lost. Then say, if peradventure the friends of the defunct be forgetful in this officiousness, and neglect both the ceremony and *Pater noster*, might not the Pope justly be reputed a cruel monster, that for the want of pattering an abridged *Pater*, his Cerberian office in hell, should detain any poor soul in such torments as, they say, are in purgatory ?

Infinite passages of the like kind could I recite, if I had longer time and more leisure ; and especially of their miraculous lies, or lying miracles, in erecting of falsehood, and maintaining of perjury : but, till a fitter occasion, I will revert to my itinerary discourse, and so proceed. Having left my aforesaid friend Mr Graham, at a tavern at Bilboa near to Rome, I set forward through the vale of Ombria, and the country of Romania, whereof Ravenna is Lady, and the Pope Lord, I arrived (the way of Ferrara and Padua) at Venice, who then was levying an army against the Croatian Scokes of Gradisca, and the Duke of Grasso, now Emperor. Of which army Count Mansfield was general, and with whom I crossed the gulf to Pola in Istria, and from thence to the siege of Gradisca ; the discourse whereof I have here formerly avouched in the second part of my first travels. Now, to speak of a soldier, certainly he is more than praiseworthy and fortunate, that hath faced the low countries, reviewed Brescia in Lombardy, and footed and sighted the arsenal of Venice, then his eyes have first seen the sons, the force, the policies, and kingdom of Mars. Secondly, the fiery shop of Vulcan, where rarest arms and weapons are hammered out upon the anvil, for the honour of Mars ; and lastly, the incomparable

*Ravenna, the
chief city of
Romania.*

comparable armory, or store-house for sea and land, the magazine and treasury of Mars.

Now, leaving both the armies barking at other like to Hyrcanian wolves, I traced the fertile soils of Carindia, Carneola, and Stria, even to Vienna; all which were subject to the Emperor, save a part of Carneola that groans under the Turk. Being arrived at Vienna, I found the town, and the flying fame of it far different, either for greatness, strength, or wealth; for the town, rising upon a moderate circular height, is but of small compass without, not passing two English miles.

Vienna in Austria, no way answerable to common fame.

The suburbs round about, being twice as great as the town; and the strength of it is no way comparable to a hundred cities that I have have seen; neither is it for wealth so much to be admired, being deprived of seas, shipping, and navigation, having only the needful posterity of dry-land towns.

Here I found a Turkish ambassador going down the Danube for Constantinople; and with him one Gratianus a Greek, his interpreter, to whose familiar love I was much obliged; and with whom I embarked down the river for Presburg; a place where the Hungarian crown is kept, and from thence descending the river to Commore, the downmost town the Emperor retaineth on the Danube, I left my noble interpreter, and traversed the champaign country.

The chief towns whereof I will briefly touch, and so proceed. Buda is the capital city of Hungary, wherein the Turkish Bashaw hath his residence, and was taken in by Solyman the Emperor, the 20th of August 1526; the other is the aforesaid Presburg, anciently Bosonia; the rest are Belgrade or Albegrek, anciently Taurinum, in Dutch Greichs; Weiffenberg that was taken by Solyman 1520; Valpa and Singidum upon the Danube, both under the Turk; and that of the Seven Churches upon the river Drana taken in, in 1543; and Zigeth taken also in the year 1566.

Moreover, upon the Danube, the town Strigonium, commonly

The special towns of Hungary.

commonly called *Grana* and *Alberoyal*, otherwise *Stuluesenburg*, a place destined for the burial-places and coronations of the Kings of Hungary, and was taken by the Turks, *anno* 1543.

Near the same place is *Stridon*, where, they say, *St Jerom* was born: And now, above all other, the strong town of *Gomorrhah*, standing in an isle of the *Danube*, of that same name, which the Turks have so oft besieged, yet never could surprize it.

There is also *Tockay*, and *Januarin* or *Rab*, seated too upon the *Danube*, a town as it were impregnable; yet it was overtaken by the Turks, and lastly recovered by the Christians.

The *Beglerbeg* of *Buda*, hath under his command eight thousand *Timariots*, and twelve thousand common soldiers, which lie in garrison in continual pay on the confines of Hungary, Croatia, and Dacia, and those confines belonging to the house of Austria. The bashaw hath under his authority, thirteen *fanzacks*, lying at these thirteen towns here undernamed, to wit, *Novaguard*, *Semendria*, *Simontorno*, *Zetshen*, *Ecclesiæ*, *Sirnium*, *Capar*, *Zornock*, *Alba Regalis*, *Sigedin*, *Mucchatz*, *Zegedin*, and *Sexard*.

The other *Beglerbegship* of Hungary is at *Temesera*, who retaineth under his command, eight *fanzacks*, and as many jurisdictions, spreading his authority over six thousand *Timariots*, and eight thousand foot-soldiers; and these *fanzacks* lying at *Temesera*, *Lippa*, *Itishinad*, *Mudania*, &c. The great Turk hath eight *Beglerbegs* or *Bashaws* under him in Europe; that of *Bosna* being one of them, who commanded ten *fanzacks*, and eight thousand *Timariots*, the residence of which bashaw is at *Bagiliavezza*, a commodious place, lying in the midst of circulating provinces, over which he spreads the ballucco of his power.

The

The soil of Hungary aboundeth infinitely in all things the earth can produce for the well of man, and produceth admirable good wines; the best whereof grow near and about the town of Sirmia, and so sweet, that they may compare with the wines of Candy; yea, and aboundeth in all kinds of cattle, that it is thought this kingdom may furnish all Europe with beef and mutton.

Hungary is a most fertile and fruitful soil.

The Hungarians are descended of the Hunns, a people of Scythia or Tartary. The ancient inhabitants divided their habitations in nine circles, which the Germans named *Hagyes*, and fenced them with high walls, made of earth and wood, being twenty foot high, and as much in breadth, being furrounded with divers bulwarks and towers of earth, whereon grew all sorts of herbs, and fructiferous trees.

The first plantation of Hungary.

The space from side to side of each one of these circles, amounted to twenty Dutch miles; the towns, villages and houses, being within, and so contrived, that each one was within cry of another: This was the first admirable plantation of the Hunns in this kingdom.

The Hungarians have ever been theftuous, treacherous, and false; so that there one brother will hardly trust another, which infidelity among themselves, and distracted deceitful governors, was the chief cause of their overthrow and subjection under infidels; and so have corrupt counsellors, and insolent princes, been the ruin of their own kingdoms; for if we would have a prince fit to govern others, and to direct himself with the square rules of wisdom and judgement, to know how to become all places, and to use all fortunes; let him bind his tender youth with a disposition tempered with sadness, for such a man can neither seduce his minority with ill examples, nor mar his wax-

en

en age with a false impressi^on, too common a condition of these dissolute times.

Now, as for the soil of Hungary, and kingdom itself, and for the goodness of it, it may be
The infinite riches of Hungary. termed the granary of Ceres, the garden of Bacchus, the pasturage of Pan, and the richest beauty of Sylvan ; for I found the wheat here growing higher than my head, the vines overlooking the trees, the grass justling with my knees, and the high sprung woods threatening the clouds ; surely, if I should enter on particulars here, I have more subject to work upon than any kingdom that ever I saw. The kingdom is divided in two parts, the higher and the lower. The lowest, largest, and best, is under the Turk, and the other narrow proportion under the Emperor *.

The Hungarian miles are the longest upon earth, for every one of theirs is six of our Scots miles, nine English ; so that the most that ever I could travel there in one day, was but six miles. Their language hath no affinity with any other kind of speech, and yet the greatest part of the country, both under the Turk and Emperor, are Protestants, and are the best of all the rest, the other being Arians and Papists,

There is a great number of gentry in this kingdom, but being untravelled abroad, they are far less mannerly at home, being luxurious and ill taught, and damnably given to that masculine misery the whole southern world is defiled with. Having now traversed all the country to Grana, and so to Gatterad in Valechia, I found the country so covered with woods, and them full of murderers, (for I was robbed on these confines, and hardly saved my life), I was constrained, I say, to

* No soil can be be more fruitful producing corn in such abundance, that it is said to be six times as cheap as in England, though it is likely to be much inferior to ours, both in body and quality. Their grapes are large and luscious, and the wines made from them, particularly the famous sort of Tockay, is preferred to any other in Europe, not excepting Burgundy or Champaign.—Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

return to Tockay in the Higher Hungary, and from thence, in one day, I stepped into Transilvania.

This country is so invironed with high and impassable mountains about, that there is but only five entries to come into it, which makes it so strong and impregnable: within there is a rich bottom or plain of thirty miles long, and six broad, being beautified with six fair towns; the chief whereof are Cron-

*A description
of Transilva-
nia.*

stadt, Juliastrad, and Hermanstadt. The sides of the mountains within rise all upward, even half level way to the tops, which maketh a pleasant and prospective country, and the best mixed soil of Europe: for in the incircled plain, there groweth nothing but wheat, rye, barley, pease, and beans; and on the half, or lower parts of the hills about, nothing but vines, and infinite villages; and toward the extreme circulary heights, only pasturage for kine, sheep, goats, and horses, and thickets of woods, so framed, that every one supplieth another; for they of the valley furnish the other two parts with victual, and they again them with wines, bestial, butter, and cheese, each interchanging all necessary things with one another, as they need *. Here I found every where kind and familiar people; yea, and the very vulgar speaking frequently Latin, and so commonly do all the Hungarians. The inhabitants here are all Protestants; but for their Waywode, or Prince Bethlem Gabor, I saw him not; for he was lying sick of a fever at Juliastrad. This province is a free principality, and, notwithstanding, adherent in some respect to the authority of the Turk. But now, having left this religious country, and crossing the north passage of

* The air in general is healthy, and temperate the soil, producing corn, wine, and fruits; and it is every where encompassed with forests on the sides of high hills and mountains, in which are mines of all sorts of minerals, particularly iron and copper. It is inhabited by the Siculi, Saxons, and Hungarians, and was formerly governed by a Waywode or prince of Transilvania; but since the year 1711, has been entirely subject to the House of Austria.—Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

the hills called *Borean Berger*, or *North Mountain*, I entered in Moldavia ; where, for my welcome, in the midst of a border-wood, I was beset with six murderers, Hungarians and Moldavians ; where having, with many prayers, saved my life, they robbed me of sixty Hungarian duckets of gold, and all my Turkish cloaths, leaving me stark naked, save only they returned to me my patents, papers, and seals.

This done, and for their better security, they carried me a little out of the way, and bound my naked body fast about the middle to an oak-tree, with wooden ropes, and my arms back so likewise ; swearing to me, that if I cried for help, or marred them of their designs before the sun-set, they would turn back and kill me ; promising then to set me free.

But night come, and I forgotten, was left here in a trembling fear, for wolves and wild
A joyful de- boars, till the morrow ; where at last,
liverance by God's providence, I was relieved in
from a despe- the morning by a company of herds ;
rate thral- who clothing me with an old long coat
dom. of theirs, and refreshing me with meat,
 one of them carried me five leagues unto

the Lord of the ground, the Baron of Starhulds, a Moldavian Protestant, with whom I staid fifteen days, and was more than repaired of all my losses, by his own bounty, and noble kinsmen, his neighbouring friends ; and he would not suffer me to go any further in the country, because of the Turks jealousy over strangers, in regard it was but lately wrested from a Christian prince, with whom I was conversant at Constantinople, in Sir Thomas Glover the ambassador's house.

Well, I yield to the nobleman's counsel, and giving him all dutiful thanks for his kind regards, he sent a guide with me for two days journey through a part of Podolia, the upmost country of Poland, bordering with Tartary.

The half of which country I found left disinhabited
 and

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The Author beset with six Murderers in Moldavia.

Gavin Sculp.

**Bayerische
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München**

and desolate, by incursions of Tartarians. Here I determined to have entered into Tartary ; but finding no conduct nor assurance of my safety, I continued my course to Cracovia, situate on the upper frontiers of Poland, bordering with Hungary.

Tartary is thought to be six hundred leagues in length, bounded eastward, with China ; to the south, with the Caspian sea ; to the north, with Russia ; and to the west, with Podolia and Moldavia.

The Tartars are not expert in war, neither are they so valiant as the Turks, nor so manly as the Polonians, who counter-blow them at rencounters ; nevertheless, by stealth of inroads, they mightily suppress the extreme parts of Poland. The Turks term the Cham or Emperor of Tartary, *Ulakim*, that is, a great prince ; and the

*The Tartars
are mighty
oppressors of
Podolia in
Poland.*

Muscovites call him *Catzar Cataiski*, to wit, the Cæsar of Cataia ; and he is so obeyed and revered among the Tartars, that they intitle him *the Son of God, the Man of God, and the soul of God* ; yea, and the greatest oath that they think can be sworn, which they usually do in matters of fidelity and importance, is by his throne royal.

This custom of idolatrous obeisance came first by one Rangavistah, who being chosen to be their Emperor, would try their promptness and good-will of obedience towards him, commanding seven of his chief princes, and head governors under him, of the people, to kill their infants with their own hands.

And notwithstanding the commandment seemed very rude and intolerable, yet they fearing the common people, who esteem their Emperors to be the divine kinsmen (as it were) of God, they did cut the throats every one of them of their own children, before his own eyes, and the sight of the people.

Insomuch that, ever since, the life and death of the Tartars depend upon the good-will and word of the king, which no way they dare contradict ; such is the

ignorant reverence they carry toward him. As for the idolatrous rites they use at his death, in inclosing, or interring, quick in a vault, near to his tomb, one of

*A love not
worthy
thanks.*

every office that he loved best, being alive, to go serve him in paradise, I will not meddle with it, neither with the vulgar superstition, who religiously feast upon the corps of their aged parents, and then do burn their bones into ashes, giving them such a burial as we give our witches; for indeed the worms come short, among the dead Tartars, of their food.

Being arrived at Cracow, or Cracovia, the capital city of Poland, (though but of small importance), I met with divers Scottish merchants, who were wonderful glad of my arrival there, especially the two brothers Dicksons, men of singular note for honesty and wealth. It was my luck

*The Count of
Torne fled
from Prague
to Poland.*

here to be acquainted with Count du Torne, the first nobleman of Bohemia, who had newly broke out of prison in Prague, and fled hither from Bohemia for safety. Matthias then being Emperor, against whom he had highly offended, by boasting him in his bed-chamber, with hard and intolerable speeches, saying to Matthias in his face, and before his wife the Empress, "Lo, there is the right hand that helped to put the Imperial crown on thy head; and behold now there is my foot shall strike it off again."

This fugitive Earl detained me with him ten days to discourse and bear him company; for then he had but only one follower, that came post with him. I found him princely disposed in all things, and very familiar in his carriage. At last, his train and treasure coming, with many other Bohemian Barons and gentlemen his friends, I humbly left him, and touching at Lublin, where the judges of Poland sit for half
the

the year, I arrived at Warsaw *, the resident place for the King Sigismund, who had newly married the other sister of his former wife, being both sisters to this Ferdinando now Emperor: A match, I dare say, more fit for the savage Sabunks of Libya, than for a Christian prince or shepherd.

This Sigismund King of Poland did marry two sisters of Ferdinando now Emperor.

But it is no matter, Pope Paulus Quintus gave him licence, and in that liberty, a wide passage to purgatory; where, when dead, that incestuous guilt will be royally purged: Lo there his pontifical absolution.

Between Cracovia and Warsaw, Lublin, lying half-way, it is a hundred Polonian miles, or French leagues. Here I found abundance of gallant rich merchants, my countrymen, who were all very kind to me; and so were they by the way, in every place where I came, the conclusion being ever sealed with deep draughts, and, "God be with you."

Poland is a large and mighty kingdom, powerful in horsemen, and populous of strangers, being charged with a proud nobility, a familiar and manly gentry, and a ruvidous vulgarity. They are all, for the most part, of square and thick bodies, having bull-necks, great thighs and legs, grim and broad faces, and commonly their shaven heads are finely covered with overthwarting strokes of crooked shables; for they, and the Armenians of Asia, are of stature and thickness the biggest and grossest people the world affordeth.

The soil is wonderful fruitful of corns; so that this country is become the granary of western Europe for all sorts of grain, besides honey, wax, flax, iron, and other commodities. And for auspiciousness, I may

* Warsaw is the capital of Warsovia, and of all Poland, also the Royal residence, it is a large and populous city, defended by a double wall and ditch. In the year 1708, a plague swept off thirty thousand people here, and a fire, for nine days, almost burnt down the whole city.—Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

Poland is the nurse of Scotland's common younglings.

rather term it to be a mother and nurse for the youth and younglings of Scotland, who are yearly sent hither in great numbers, than a proper dame for her own birth, in cloathing, feeding, and enriching them with the fatness of her best things, besides thirty thousand Scots families that live incorporate in her bowels. And certainly Poland may be termed in this kind to be the mother of our commons, and the first commencement of all our best merchants wealth, or at the least most part of them.

And now ceasing to perambulate through any more particulars of this familiar nation to us, I was kindly transported from Warsaw upon a waggon to Dantzick, being fifty leagues distant, with a generous young merchant, William Baillie, my Clydesdale countryman, to whose courtesies I still rest thankful.

Here, in Dantzick, I fell deadly sick for three weeks space, insomuch that my grave and tomb was prepared by my countrymen there.

Nevertheless, in the end it pleased Almighty God I recovered my health, and then embarked for Elfinore in Denmark; where being better recovered, I returned back in a Flemish pink to Stockholm; where, after five or six days being there, and finding my sickness like to return again, and fearing the worst, I made haste for England.

At last, finding the commodity of an English ship belonging to Ratcliffe, we hoisted sail, and set forward through the sound, or Baltic sea, for Elfinore again: Whence, after three days abode, bidding farewell to that tributary town and castle, we coasted the scurrile and rocky face of Norway, at two several parts: but not without great storms, and contrary winds; yea, and once finally endangered with a threatening shipwreck, which, with good luck, we happily escaped.

These tempestuous dangers past, upon the seventh day the winds again favouring us, we safely arrived at
London;

London; from whence I first began this voyage, and there ended my second peregrination.

Magnum virtutis principium est, ut dixit paulatim exercitatus; animus visibilia et transitoria primum commutare, ut post modum possit derelinquere. Delicatus ille est adhuc, cui patria dulcis est; fortis autem jam cui omne solum patria est; perfectus vero, cui mundus exilium est.

The end of the second Book of my Travels.

P A R T X.

The Third Book of my Travels.

Now swoln ambition, bred from curious toil,
 Invites my feet to tread parch'd Ethiop's soil;
 To fight great Prester John, and his empire,
 That mighty king, their prince, their priest, their
 fire;
 Their laws, religion, manners, life, and frame;
 And Amais, mount-rais'd, library of fame.
 Well, I am sped, bid England's courts adieu,
 And by the way Hibernia's bounds I view;
 In whose defects the truth, like razor sharp,
 Shall sadly tune my new-string'd Irish harp.
 Then scud I France, and cross'd the Pyrenees
 At the Columbian heights, which threat the skies;
 And coasting Pampelun, I trac'd all Spain,
 From Behobia to Jubile Taure again.
 Then rest'd at Malaga, where I was spent
 And taken for a spy, crush'd, rack'd, and rent.
 Where, ah! when treason try'd, by false position,
 They wrested on me their lawless inquisition;
 Which, after tortures, hunger, vermine, gnasbes,
 Condemn'd me quick, stake bound, to burn in ashes.
 God's providence comes in, and I'm discovered
 By merchants means, by Aston last delivered:
 Where noble Maunsel, general of that fleet,
 That I was rack'd for, did kind Halkins greet,
 With strict command, to send me home for court,
 To shew King James my torments, pangs, and tort.

*Lo I am come, to Bath I'm sent, and more
 Mine hopeless life, made worlds my sight deplore;
 Which here I'll sing, in tragic tune, to all
 That love the truth, and look for Babel's fall.*

BUT now having finished the two descriptions of my first and second adventures, it rests now most necessary to relate the meritorious design, and miserable effect, of my third voyage. After I had (I say), by the great providence of God, escaped infinite dangers by seas, suffering thrice shipwreck; by land, in woods, and on mountains, often invaded; by ravenous beasts, crawling and venomous worms, daily incumbered; by home-bred robbers, and remote savages, five times stripped to the skin; excessive fatigue, unspeakable adversities, parching heats, scorching drought, intolerable distresses of hunger, imprisonments, and cold; yet all these almost incredible sufferings past, could never abate the flame of my austere affection conceived; but ambitious curiosity exposing me to a third voyage, I may say as Æneas did in his penitential mood,

*O socii, (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum)
 O passi graviora: dabit Deus his quoque finem.*

O socials! we're not ignorant of losses;
 O sufferings sad, God too will end these crosses.

But to observe a methodical order, I think it best to shew the unacquainted reader a reasonable satisfaction for undertaking this third, and almost invincible attempt.

First, The most special and urgent cause proceeded from a necessary good (the necessity of knowledge) in the requisite perfection of Europe's full and spacious sight, the ancient tierce, and now most Christian world, leaving formerly no part thereof unseen, as well under the

the Turk as Christian, except Ireland, and the half of Spain.

The second cause was moved from a more insatiate content, that when I had compassed all Europe, my resolution was, to travel a larger extent of ground in Afric than formerly I had done twice before, even to Æthiopia, Prester John's dominions. For the same effect, and a greater impression to my resolution, I set pen to paper, drawing from the distaff of the muses a poetical pamphlet, dedicated to themselves, to their profound Apollo, his then hopeful heir, and divers noble peers of both kingdoms.

And having, from a royal favour, obtained his Majesty's letters, and seals of safe conduct, and regal commendation to all kings, princes, and dukes, &c. I, in all obsequious humility, bid farewell to this sequestrate and most auspicious monarchy; and arriving at Dublin in Ireland, August 22. 1619, I saluted the Right Honourable Sir Oliver St John's, late Lord Grandison, and then Lord-deputy there; to whom, for regard and singular courtesies, I was greatly obliged; so was I also to many of the English nobility and knighthood there, who, through the whole country where-ever I came, entertained me kindly, sending guides with me from place to place; yea, and sometimes safeguards also; beside in their houses great good cheer and welcome. But in special, a dutiful remembrance I owe to the memory of that once judicious and reli-

gious Lord Arthur, late Lord Chichester, Baron of Belfast, &c.; who, in his time, for virtue, wisdom, and valour, wore the diadem of love, and garland of true nobleness. Of whom, and for whose loss, if I should more praise, and longer lament, my ink would turn to brinish tears, and I to helpless sorrow. But leaving him who lived in goodness here, and now in glory for ever, I celebrate these lines to his eternal fame.

If ever bounty shin'd in loyal breast,
 If ever judgement flow'd from generous mouth,
 If ever viceroy rul'd this kingdom best,
 If ever valour honour'd hopeful youth,
 If ever wisdom Astrea's worth possess'd,
 If ever virtue was inclin'd to ruth,
 If ever justice enormities redress'd,
 If ever patron pattern was of truth;
 Then, noble Chichester, the heavens assign,
 These gifts (thy honour'd parts) were truly thine.

And now, after a general survey of the whole kingdom (the north-west part of Canoch excepted) was accomplished, from the 1st of September till the last of February, I found the goodness of the soil more than answerable to my expectation, the defect only remaining (not speaking of our colonies) in the people, and from them, in the bosom of two graceless sisters, Ignorance and Sluggishness.

This kingdom is divided into four provinces, although some make five, that is, eastern and western Maith; but they are understood to be annexed to Leinster. Their names are these, *The four provinces of Ireland.* Leinster, Munster, Ulster, and Canoch; the southmost whereof is Munster, a soil (and so is Leinster in most parts) nothing inferior, if seasonably manured, to the best grounds in England. The island lieth almost in a roundo, being every way spacious; the greatest river whereof is Shannon, whose course amounteth to a hundred and sixty miles, inclosing within it many little isles.

And this I dare avow, there are more rivers, lakes, brooks, strands, quagmires, bogs, and marshes in this country, than in all Christendom besides; for traveling there in the winter, all my daily solace was sink-down comfort; sometimes boggy plunging deeps, touching my horse's belly; sometimes over-mired saddle, body, and all; and often and ever set a swimming, in great danger, both I and my guides, of our lives;

that

that for cloudy and fountain-bred perils, I was never before reduced to such a floating labyrinth. Considering that, in five months space, I quite spoiled six horses, and myself as tired as the worst of them.

And now I call to memory, (not without derision), though I conceal the particular place and prelate, it was my fortune, in the county of Dunnegal, to be jovial with a bishop at his table; where, after divers discourses, my ghostly father grew offended with me for terming of his wife *mistress*; which, when understood, I both called her *Madam* and *Lady Bishop*. Whereupon he grew more incensed, and I left him unsatisfied. Resolve me, reader, if it be the custom here or not? and if, amends shall repay oversight, a ghostly wife shall be still *Madam Lady* with me; if not, my observed manner shall be *Mistress*.

But now, to come to my intended discourse of Ireland, true it is, to make a fit comparison, the Barbarian Moor, the Moorish Spaniard, the Turk, and the Irishman, are the least industrious, and most sluggish livers under the sun; for the vulgar Irish, I protest, live more miserably in their brutish fashion, than the undaunted or untamed Arabian, the devilish idolatrous Turkoman, or the moon-worshipping Caramines; shewing thereby a greater necessity they have to live, than any pleasure they have, or can have, in their living.

Their fabrics are advanced three or four yards high, pavilion-like incircling, erected in a singular frame of smoke-torn straw, green long-pricked turf, and rain-dropping wattles. Their several rooms, of palatiate divisions, as chambers, halls, parlours, kitchens, barns, and stables, are all inclosed in one, and that one perhaps in the midst of a mire; where, when in foul weather, scarcely can they find a dry part whereupon to repose their cloud-baptized heads. Their shirts being woven of the wool or linen of their own nature, and their penurious food like to their ruvid condition.

And,

And, lastly, these only titular Christians are so ignorant in their superstitious profession of Popery, that neither they, nor the greatest part of their priests, know or understand what the mystery of the mass is, which they daily see, and the other celebrate, nor what the name of Jesus is, either in his divine or human nature. Ask him of his religion, he replieth, What his father, his great-grandfather were, that will he be also. And hundreds of better than the common sort have demanded me, if Jerusalem and Christ's sepulchre were in Ireland? and if the Holy Land was contiguous with St Patrick's purgatory?

They also, at the sight of each new moon *, (I speak it credibly), bequeath their cattle to her protection, humbly imploring the pale lady of the night, that she will leave their bestial in as good plight as she found them; and if sick, scabbed, or fore, they solicit her maiden-faced Majesty to restore them to their health. In which absurdity they far surmount the silly Sabunks, and Garolinean Moors of Libya †. Indeed of all things (besides their ignorance) I only lamented their heavy bondage under three kinds of masters; the landlord for his rent, the minister for his

*A foolish and
superstitious
error.*

* To these may be added a number of superstitions. I cannot tell whether the wilder sort of the Irish yield divine honour unto the moon; for when they see her first after the change, commonly they bow the knee, and say over the Lord's prayer: and so soon as they have made an end, they speak unto the moon with a loud voice, in this manner, "Leave us as whole and sound as thou hast found us." They take unto them Wolves to be their Godgibs, whom they term *Chari Christ*, praying for them, and wishing them well; and so they are not afraid to be hurt by them, &c. — Cambden's Britannia.

† The Irish at this day, when they go to battle, say certain prayers or charms to their swords, making a cross therewith upon the earth, and thrusting the points of their blades into the ground, thinking thereby to have the better success in fight. They also swear by their Lord's hand; and to forswear it, hold it more criminal than to swear by God Almighty. — Spenser's View of the state of Ireland.

tithes,

tithes, and the Romish priest for his fees. And remark, when their own Irish rent-masters have any voyage for Dublin, or peradventure supersended at home in feasting of strangers, then must these poor ones be taxed and afflicted with the supply of the wasted provision of their prodigal houses; otherwise in supporting their superfluous charges for Dublin.

O what a slavish servitude do these silly wretches endure, the most part of whom, in all their lives, have never third-part food, nature's clothing, nor a secure shelter for the winter's cold!

The miserable sight whereof, and their sad-sounding groans, have often drawn a sorrowful remorse from my humane compassion.

As for their gentry, such as are brought up here at London, learn to become a great deal more civil than those who are brought up at home, after their own rude and accustomable manner. And this I observed, in my traversing the whole kingdom, I never saw one or other, neither could move any of that nation to pledge or present his Majesty's health; but as many other healths as you please, they will both fasten and receive from you, till they fall in the muddy hoth-potch of their dead grandfathers understanding. Indeed for entertainment of strangers, they are freely disposed; and there gentlemen of any good sort, reserve ever in their houses Spanish sack, and Irish uscova, and will be as tipsy with their wives, their priests, and their friends, as though they were naturally insober in the eleven royal taverns of Naples.

And now, amongst many, there are
Two intolerable abuses in Ireland. two intolerable abuses of protections in that kingdom; the one of thieves and wood-carns, the other of priests and Papists. I discourse of these corruptions now as I found them then*.

The

* They account it no shame or infamy to commit robberies, which they practise every where with great cruelty. When they go to rob, they pour out their prayers to God, that they may meet with a booty. They spare neither churches nor hallowed places; but
 thence

The first is prejudicial to all Christian civility, tranquil government, and a great discouragement for our colonised planters there, belonging to both soils of this island, being daily molested, and nightly incumbered, with these blood-sucking rebels.

And notwithstanding of their barbarous cruelty, ever executed at all advantages, with slaughter and murder upon the Scots and English dwellers there *, yet they

thence also they fill their hands with spoil; yea, and sometimes they set them on fire, and kill the men that there lie hidden. And the cause hereof is, the most filthy life of their priests, who of churches make profane houses, and keep harlots, who follow them whithersoever they go; but when they are cast off, seek cunning devices to do mischief by poisons. The priests, lemans, and their bastards, abide within the circuit of a church, drink until they be drunk, lie together, shed blood, and keep up their cattle there. — Camden's Britannia.

* About the month of May 1642, when the Scottish army, under the command of Major-General Monro, had marched from Carrickfergus, taken in the Newery, beaten the Irish out of those parts, with the slaughter of many of them, Sir Phelim O'Neal caused five thousand British, whom he detained in Armagh Tyrone, and other parts of the north, to be most miserably murdered in the space of three days. Near unto the deponent's house, thirty-six persons were carried to the Cure-bridge at one time, and drowned; at another time, six and fifty men, women, and children, all of them being taken out of the deponent's house; and at several other times, several other numbers, besides those that were drowned in the black water at Kinnaird, in which town, and the parish of Tinon, (whereof the deponent was rector), there was drowned, slaughtered, and died of famine, and for want of cloaths, about six hundred. The deponent might add to these many thousands more; but the diary which he this deponent wrote amongst the rebel Irish being burned, with his house, books, and all his papers, he referreth himself to the number in gross, which the Irish themselves have, upon inquiry, found out. and acknowledged; which, notwithstanding, will come short of all that have been murdered in Ireland; there being above one hundred and fifty thousand Protestants now wanting of the British within the very precinct of Ulster.

Deposeth 22d of August 1642.

WILLIAM ALDRICH.

HENRY BRERETON.

Sir John Temple's History of the Irish rebellion.

N. B. This happened a few years after the author was in Ireland.

have,

have, and find at their own wills, simoniacal protections, for lesser or longer times; ever as the confused disposers have their law-fold hands filled with the bloody bribes of slaughtered lives, highway and house robbed people. And then thereafter, their ill-got means being spent, like unto dogs, they return back to their former vomit; so juggling with their in and out goings, like to the restless ocean, that they cannot, nor ever did, become true subjects to our King, nor faithful friends to their country. Unless, by extremity

*The filthy
corruption of
Irish priests
and wood-
carns, thie-
vish rebels.*

of justice, the one still hanged before the other, the remnant by the gallows may exemplify amendment, contrariwise, that land shall never be quiet: for these villanous wood-carns are but the hounds of their hunting priests, against what faction soever their malicious malignity is intended; partly for entertainment, partly for particular spleens, and lastly for a general disturbance of the country, for the priests greater security and stay.

The other abuse is, their libertinous masses; the redress whereof, I first to the heavens, and then to my prince bequeath; whose sabbath recusant money, whereof they brag, (as they say), in derision of our luke-warm dispensation, tendeth to none other purpose, but to obumbrate the true light of the gospel, and to feed their absurd and almost irrevocable ignorance.

And nevertheless, at their daily meetings, (experience taught me), there was never a more repining people against our prince and church as they be: for in this presumption a two-fold cause ariseth, want of zeal, and church-discipline on our part, and the officious nine-penny mass on their part; yea, all and each of them, so exacted and compounded with at higher or lower rates, as the officers in this nature please.

The distribution whereof I no wise parallel to the slight concaviating veins of the earth, nor the sole supply of high-rising Atlas, neither to envelop the perpendiculars of long-reaching Caucasus; howsoever demolished

lished churches, impassable bridges, indigent scholars, and distressed families, be supported therewith, I am as clear of it as they, although I smart by the contrary confusion.

But leaving this, and observing my method, I remember I saw in the north parts of Ireland two remarkable sights; the one was their manner of tillage, ploughs drawn by horse-tails, wanting garnishing, they are only fastened with straw, or wooden ropes, to their bare rumps, marching all side for side, three or four in a rank, and as many men hanging by the ends of that untoward labour. It is as bad a husbandry, I say, as ever I found among the wildest savages alive; for Caramines, who understand not the civil form of agriculture, yet they delve, hollow, and turn over the ground, with manual and wooden instruments. But the Irish have thousands of both kingdoms daily labouring beside them; yet they cannot learn, because they will not learn, to use garnishing, so obstinate they are in their barbarous customs, unless punishment and penalties were inflicted; and yet most of them are content to pay twenty shillings a-year, before they will change their custom.

A bad and uncivil husbandry in Ireland.

The other as goodly sight I saw was women traveling or toiling at home, carrying their infants about their necks, and laying their dugs over their shoulders, would give suck to the babes behind their backs, without taking them in their arms. Such kind of breasts, methinketh, were very fit to be made money-bags for East or West Indian merchants, being more than half a yard long, and as well wrought as any tanner, in the like charge, could ever mollify such leather.

Northern Irish women giving suck to their babes behind their shoulders.

As for any other customs they have, to avoid prolixity, I spare: only, before my pen fly over seas, I would gladly shake hands with some of our churchmen

there; for better are the wounds of a friend, than the sweet smile of a flatterer; for love and truth cannot dissemble.

Many dissembling impudents intrude themselves in this high calling of God, who are not truly, neither worthily, thereunto called; the ground here arising either from a carnal or careless presumption, otherwise from needy, greedy, and lack of bodily maintenance.

Such is now the corruption of time, that I know here even mechanic men admitted in the place of pastors; yea, and rude-bred soldiers, whose education was at the musket-mouth, are become there both Libyan grave, and unlearned churchmen; nay, besides them professed, indeed professed scholars, whose warbling mouths, ingorged with spoonfuls of bruised Latin, seldom or never expressed, unless the force of quaffing spew it forth from their empty skulls; such, I say, confine their doctrine between the thatch and the church-walls tops; and yet their smallest stipends shall amount to one, two, three, or four hundred pounds a-year.

An ecclesiastic corruption in unlawful preachers.

Whereupon you may demand me, how spend they, or how deserve they this? I answer, Their deserts are nought, and the fruit thereof as naughtily spent; for sermons and prayers they never have any; neither have they ever preached any, nor can preach.

And although some could, as perhaps they seeming would, they shall have no auditor (as they say) but bare walls, the plants of their parishes being the roots of mere Irish. As concerning their carriage in spending such sacrilegious fees, the course is thus.

The alehouse is their church, the Irish priests their consorts; their auditors be, Fill and fetch more; their text Spanish sack, their prayers carousing, their singing of psalms whiffing of tobacco, their last blessing *aqua vitae*, and all their doctrine sound drunkenness.

And

And whensoever these parties do meet, their parting is Dane-like, from a Dutch pot, and the minister, still purse-bearer, defrayeth all charges for the priest. Arguments of religion, like Podolian Polonians, they succumb; their conference only pleading mutual forbearance; the minister afraid of the priest's wood-carns, and the priests as fearful of the minister's apprehending or denoting them; contracting thereby a Gibeonized covenant; yea, and for more submission's sake, he will give way to the priest to mumble mass in his church, where in all his life he never made prayer nor sermon.

*A flattering
covenant be-
twixt mini-
sters and
mass-priests.*

Lo there are some of the abuses of our late weak and straggling ecclesiastics there, and the foul-sunk sorrow of godless epicures and hypocrites.

To all which, and much more, have I been an ocular testator, and sometimes a constrained confociate to their companionry; yet not so much inforced, as desirous to know the behaviour and conversation of such mercenary Jebusites.

Great God amend it, for it is great pity to behold it; and if it continue so still, as when I saw them last, O far better it were, that these ill-bestowed tithes, and church-wall rents, were distributed to the poor and needy, than to suffocate the swine-fed bellies of such idle and profane parasites.

And here another general abuse I observed, that whensoever any Irish die, the friend of the defunct (besides other fees) paying twenty shillings to the English curate, shall get the corpse of the deceased to be buried within the church, yea often even under the pulpit-foot; and for lucre, interred in God's sanctuary when dead, who, when alive, would never approach nor enter the gates of Sion, to worship the Lord, nor conform themselves to true religion.

Truly such, and the like abuses, and evil examples of lewd lives, have been the greatest hindrance of that land's conversion; for such, like wolves, have been, from

time to time, but stumbling blocks before them; regarding more their own sensual and licentious ends, than the glory of God, in converting of one soul unto his church.

Now as concerning the unconscionable carriage of the Irish clergy, ask me, and there my reply.

*Ministerial
offices
strangely
abused.*

As many of them (for the most part) as are Protestant ministers, have their wives, children, and servants invested Papists; and many of these churchmen at the hour of their death, like dogs re-

turn back to their former vomit. Witness the late Vicar of Calin (belonging to the late and last Richard Earl of Desmond, who being on his deathbed, and having two hundred pounds a year; finding himself to forsake both life and stipend, sent straight for a Romish priest, and received the Popish sacrament: confessing freely in my hearing, that he had been a Roman-catholic all his life, dissembling only with his religion, for the better maintaining of his wife and children. And being brought to the burial-place, he was interred in the church, with which he had played the ruffian all his life; being openly carried at mid-day with Jesuits, priests, and friars of his own nation, and after a contemptible manner, in derision of our profession, and laws of the kingdom.

Infinite more examples of this kind could I recite, and the like resemblances of some being alive; but I respectfully suspend, (wishing a reformation of such deformity), and so concludeth this clerical corruption there. Yet I would not have the reader to think, that I condemn all our clergy there; no, God forbid; for I know there are many sound and religious preachers of both kingdoms among them, who make conscience of their calling, and live as lanthorns to incapable ignorants, and to those straggling Stoicks I complain of condemnatory judges; for it is a grievous thing to see incapable men to juggle with the high mysteries of man's salvation.

And

And now after the wearisome ending of a tempestuous rain-facking toil, I embarked at Yoghall in Munster, February 27. 1620. in a little French pink bound for St Malo in Bretagne. Where, when transported, I set forward to Paris, where I found the works of two wicked and perverse authors, the one of which had disdainfully wrote against the life and reign of Queen Elisabeth of eternal renown : the other ignominiously, upon the death of our late Queen Anne of ever blessed memory. The circumstances whereof I will not avouch, since Malaga detaineth the notes of their abjured names, and perfidious pains.

My departure from Ireland to France.

A just reward (may I say) refounded upon these fond conceits you have of the fantastic French : especially these superstitious stragglers here ; who, when they have sucked the milk of their self-ends, and your lavish liberalities without desert, return a kick with their heels (like to the colt of an ass) in your teeth again. And there your meritorious thanks, and their shameful slanders in acquittance of your very vain expence.

Tell me, if you be tied like apes to imitate their ever-changing humours ? And can you draw from them (in any art or carriage) a greater draught, than they draw from the Italian : for first, they are imitators ; next, mutators ; thirdly, temptators ; and lastly, your plantators in all the varieties of vanity *. Have you a desire to learn modestly to dance,

The fantastic foolery of the French.

* When an Englishman comes to Paris, he cannot appear until he has undergone a total metamorphosis. At his first arrival, he finds it necessary to send for the tailor, peruquier, hatter, shoemaker, and every other tradesman concerned in the equipment of the human body. He must even change his buckles, and the form of his ruffles, and, though at the risk of his life, suit his cloaths to the mode of the season. — On his return to his own country, all this frippery is useless. He cannot appear in London until he has undergone another metamorphosis ; so that he will have some reason to think, that the tradesmen of Paris and London have combined to lay him under contribution ; and they no doubt are the directors who regulate the fashions in both capitals, &c. — Dr Smollet's Travels.

skilfully to fence, dexterously to manage great horses, view foreign fights, learn languages, human policies, and the like conducements ?

Then rather reach the fountain whence they flow,
Whence science, arts, and practice lively grow,
Than suck the streams of separate distastes ;
He well derives, whose labour never wastes,
Fond fools affect, what foolery fools effect,
The sequel fight, than sense, doth more infect.

Besides these two infamous authors, what hath Edee, the idea of a knave (and gentleman of the French privy-chamber) done ; who like a wood weather-cock, and giddy-headed fool, (full of deficient vapours) hath shamefully stained, with his shameless pen, the light of this kingdom, which now I omit to avouch till a fitter time ?

Thus they fondly write, thus they prattle, thus they sing, thus they dance, thus they brangle, thus they dally in capricious humours, and thus they vary in the fleering conceit of *sa, sa, sa, sa, sa*, far beyond the inconstancy of all female inconstancies.

But to conclude this epitome of France, three things I wish the way-faring man to prevent
Certain cave- there : First, the eating of victuals, and
ats for stran- drinking of wine without price-making ;
gers that go left (when he hath done), for the stridor
*to France. of his teeth, his charges be redoubled *.*
Next to chuse his lodging (if it fall out
in any way-standing tavern) far from marshy ditches,
left

* To an Englishman it seems very strange to get into an inn, and make a bargain for his bed, his supper, his horses, and servants, before he eats or sleeps ; yet this is common in France, and for a stranger even necessary : For though you will meet with no kind of civil reception at the inns upon the road in France, as with us, at your entrance, you will meet with an exorbitant bill (without this precaution) at your departure. Therefore, when you come into an inn, where you intend to stay all night, or to dine, ask the price of
your

left the vehemency of chirking frogs, vex the wished for repose of his wearied body, and cast him in a vigilant perplexity.

And lastly, unless he would arise early, I never wish him to lie near the fore-streets of a town; because of the disturbing clamours of the peasant samboys or nail wooden shoes; whose noise like an equivox, resembleth the clashing armour of armies; or the clangor of the Ulyssen tumbling horse to fatal Troy.

But now to my purpose, leaving Paris behind me, I arrived at Pau in Bearn. This province is a principality of itself, anciently annexed to the kingdom of Navarre, lying between the higher Gascony of Guyan, and the Pyrenean mountains of Baske, bordering with the north parts of Navarre; both of which belongeth to the French king, except a little of Baske toward the Columbian Alpes, and that the Spaniard commandeth.

Pau is the justice-seat of Bearn, having a goodly castle situate on an artificial rock; and in this place was the martial Henry IV. born, then king of Navarre.

Here are the finest gardens in Christendom, the gardens of Pretolino (five miles from Florence) only excepted. Yet for fair arbors, spacious over-filing walks, and incorporate trees of interchanging growth, it surpasseth Pretolino: but the other for the variety of fructiferous trees, rare and admirable ponds, artificial fountains, Diana and her alabaster nymphly-pourtrayed train, the counterbanding force of Aguadotti, and the exquisite banquetting room, continued among founding unseen waters, in form of Gargantus's body, it much excelleth Pau.

Hence I descended the river of Orthes to Bajon,

your room and bed, and order a supper or dinner, at thirty, forty, fifty, or sixty sols per head. You will then be well served, with perhaps many dishes; any one of which, had you ordered in particular, would have been charged triple. — Mr Thicknesse's and Mr Steven's Travels through France.

Biscay in Spain is a barren country. and crossing the river Behobia, which divideth France and Spain, I entered into Biscay, June 19. 1629. This is a mountainous and invincible country, (of which Victoria is the chief city) being a barren and almost unprofitable soil. The special commodities whereof are sheep, wool as soft as silk, goats, and excellent good iron. Corns they have none, or little at all; neither wine, but what is brought from Navarre in pelagoes, or swine-skins, carried on mulets backs.

Leaving Biscay, I entered Navarre, and came to Pampeluna its metropolitan city: here I found the poorest viceroy (*nomen sine re*) with the least means to maintain him, that ever the world afforded such a style. Navarre is but a little kingdom, amounting in length (with the south pendicles of the high Pyrenees) to twenty-three leagues; that is, between Porto di St Johanne in Basque, and Grono upon the river Hebro, dividing the old Castile and Navarre. In breadth it extendeth to seventeen leagues; that is, between Varen in Biscay, and Terrafranca, in Arragon; the soil is indifferent fertile of corns and wines. From thence I set eastward to Siragusa, the capital seat of Arragon.

Arragon hath Navarre to the west; south, Valentia kingdom; east and south-east, Catalonia; and on the north, the Pyrenean Alpes. It is an ancient and famous kingdom, under whose jurisdiction were both the petty kingdoms of Valencia and Barcelona; and not long ago was given to the Castilian king by marriage; for although Castile hath the language, they have the lineal descent of the Romans; the inhabitants whereof being instinctively endued with all human affabilities. From thence, returning through the old Castile, or kingdom of Burgos, in the way to St Jago of Compostella in Galicia; it was my fortune at St Domingo to enter the town-church, accompanied by two French puppies, mindful to shew me a miraculous matter.

Where, when come, I espied over my head opposite

sited to the great altar, two milk-white hens, enravell'd in an iron cage, on the inner side of the porches promontore. *A lying miracle.*

And demanding why they were kept, or what they signified? Certain Spaniards replied, Come along with us, and you shall see the story: and being brought to the (choro) it was drawn thereon as followeth. The father and the son, two Bourboneans of France, going in pilgrimage to St James, it was their lot to lodge here in an inn; where, supper ended, and reckoning paid, the host perceiving their denariate charge, he entered their chamber when they were asleep, and in bed, conveying his own purse in the young man's budget.

To-morrow early, the two innocent pilgrims, footing the hard bruising way, were quickly overhied by the Justice; where the host making search for his purse, found it in the son's bag. Whereupon instantly, and in the same place he was hanged, and left hanging there, seizing on their money by a sentential forfeiture.

The sorrowful father, notwithstanding, continued his pilgrimage to Compostella. Where, when come, and devotion made, our Lord of Mount Serata appeared to him, saying, *Thy prayers are heard, and thy groans have pierced my heart; arise, and return to St Domingo, for thy son liveth.* And he accordingly returned, found it so, and the son-hanged monster, after thirty days absence, spoke thus from the gallows: *Father, go to our host, and shew him I live; then speedily return.* By which direction the old man entered the town, and finding the host at table, in breaking up of two roasted pullets, told him, and said, *My son liveth, come and see.* To which the smiling host replied, He is as surely alive on the gallows, as these two pullets are alive in the dish. At which protestation, the two fire-scorched fowls leaped out suddenly alive, with heads, wings, feathers, and feet; and cackling, took flight thrice about the table.

A damnable delusion of a devilish miracle.

ble. This amazing sight made the astonished host to confess his guiltiness, and the other being relieved from the rope, he was hung up in his place, allotting his house for an hospitality to pilgrims for ever.

There are still two hens reserved here, in memory of this miracle, and always changed, as they grow fat, for the priests chops, being freely given to the place. And I dare swearing say, these priests eat fatter hens than Don Philippo himself, they being fed by the people's devotion, at their entrance to the morning and evening sacrifices, and are termed *holy hens*. Much paper could I blot, with relating the like absurdities, and miraculous lies of the Romish church; but leaving them till a fitter occasion, I proceed. From thence traversing a great part of the higher Asturia, I entered into Galicia, and found the country so barren, the people so poor, and victuals so scarce, that this importunate inforcement withdrew me from St Jaques, to Portugal: where I found little better, or lesser relief, their soil being absolute sterile, desert, and mountainous.

Portugal was formerly called *Lusitania*, and *Hispania*
Ulterior: It is three hundred and twenty miles in length, sixty-eight in breadth, and sometimes under. When under the dominion of the Moors it was divided into two kingdoms: the one reserved the name of all; the other was called *Agarbas*; an Arabic word, that signifieth the western part: and were divided with the river Guadron, and the two castles Odebera and Alcotino. *Agarbas* was toward the south, and Portugal northward.

Portugal is now confined, on the south and south-east, with Andalusia; west and south-west, the main ocean; Galicia to the north; and eastward, the old and new Castile. After twenty days toilsome climbing in this kingdom, I returned to Salamanca in Castilia Vecchia, the sacerdotal university of Spain; whence spring these flocks of students that overswarm the whole land with rogueries, robberies, and begging. From thence traversing the Alpes of Siera de Caderama, (which divided

vided the two Castiles) I descended the south side of the mountains, and arrived at the Escorial, where then the late King Philip III. had his residence

This palace standeth alone, and is founded upon the skirt of a perpendicular hill of Gaderama, squared out from a sloping steepness, having a large prospect southwardly, towards the Evenise mountains, beyond

*The palace of
Escorial.*

Toledo. This palatiate cloyster is quadrangled four stories high; the uppermost whereof is window-set in the blue tecture; the stone-work below having three ranks of larger windows incircling the whole quadrangles, and French-like high rigged. At every spacious squadrate corner there is an high turret erected, above the coverture, whose tops bear each of them a golden globe. In the middle court standeth a round incorporate church arising outward in a rotundo, with a wide leaden top, and on each side thereof a squadrate steeple, higher than the round, making a goodly shew. It hath neither outward walls nor gates but the two self-doors of the eleven incloystered petty courts; save only some office-houses without, and they stand alone by the hill-broken side. I may rather

term it a monastery, than a kingly palace, having a hundred and fifty monks, Carthusians, of St Hieronymo's order, living within it, the King only remaining in a private corner at his coming

*Escorial is
rather a mo-
nastery than
palace.*

thither. Nay, at that instant he was so private, that before I saw his face, I could not believe that the sovereign of so great a monarchy could be so quiet; yea, as quiet as a country baron is with us, and had lived so nine weeks before. The house itself I confess, excelleth in beauty the Seraglio of the Great Turk at Constantinople, though not in divisions and ground-distances, yet for a main incorporate house, and was builded by King Philip II. standing seven leagues from Madrid, to which I arrived.

Here is the residence of the court, though formerly at Valladolid: Madrid, or Madrile, is the centre or middle

dle part of Spain, situate in the kingdom of Toledo, the new Castilia; and distant from Lisbon in Portugal, westward, one hundred leagues; from Sevilla in Andalusia ninety leagues; from Granada, southward, sixty-eight leagues; Barcelona in Catalonia, east south eastward, one hundred leagues; from Valentia, fifty leagues; from Siragusa in Arragon, eastward, three leagues; from St Sebastian in Biscay, north-westward, seventy leagues; and from Pampeluna in Navarre, north-eastward, forty-nine leagues. Spain generally is a mass of mountains, a barren ill manured soil, neither well inhabited nor populous; yea, so desert is it, that in the very heart of Spain I have gone eighteen leagues (two days journey) without seeing either house or village, except two ventas, taverns; and commonly eight leagues without any house; villages are so far distant, the rocky Sera's or Alpes so innumerable.

It is miserable traveling, less profitable, in these ten provinces, or petty kingdoms, hard lodging and poor, great scarcity of beds and dear, and no ready dressed diet, unless you buy it raw, and cause dress, or dress it yourself, buying first in one place your fire, your meat from the butcher, your bread from the baker, your wine from the tavern, your fruits, oil, and herbs, from the Botega, carrying all to the last place, your bed-lodging. Thus must the weary stranger toil or else fast; and in a number of places no victuals can be got for gold or money, but is forced to endure the pangs of hunger*. The high-minded Spaniard, and their high-topped mountains, have an infused contention

* A description was lately sent hither to a correspondent; where he acquaints him, that in eleven days journey from Bilboa to Madrid, by means of mules, the only method of conveyance in this country, at the rate of six or seven leagues a-day, the inns afforded them neither bread, wine, nor beds; and that meeting with a curate near the capital, he was invited to his house, as he spoke Latin, preferably to his going to a public inn; but had nothing, save a few chesnuts and a cabbage boiled, in simple element, for his entertainment; and the curate's own bed, consisting of some paltry goat-skins

contention together; the one, through arrogant ambition, would invade the whole earth to enlarge his dominions; the other, by steep swollen height, seem to threaten the heavens to pull down Jupiter from his throne. As I take it, the Spaniard being of a low stature, borroweth his high-minded breast from the high-topped mountains; for the one in quality, and the other in quantity, are extraordinarily similar.

Certain it is, as the Spaniard in all things standeth greatly upon his reputation, (but never to avouch it with single combat), so he vaunteth not a little of his antiquity, deriving his pedigree from Tubal, the nephew of Noah. But (especially as they draw it) how often hath the line of Tubal been bastarded, degenerated, and quite expelled, by invasions of Phœnicians, oppressions of the Greeks, incursions of the Carthaginians, the conquest and planting of provinces, and colonies of the Romans, the general deluge of the Goths, Huns, and Vandals; and lastly, by the long and intolerable tyranny of the Moors, whose slavish yoke and bondage in eight hundred years, he could scarcely shake off, his own histories bear sufficient testimony and record: Then it is manifest, that this mixture of nations must of necessity make a compounded nature, such as having affinity with many, have no perfection in any one.

The long captivity of the Spaniards under the Moors.

There manners are conformable to their descent, and their conditional virtues like to their last and longest conquerors, of whom they retain the truest stamp.

skins laid on musty straw; and being obliged to part with his black silk stockings, which the curate condescended to take in the night-time from him, and a crown to boot next morning, for his lodging; at the same time pretending, that all this was to be given to the poor of the parish: And happy he was to get off thus, and by asking of pardon bare-legged and slip-shod, having been otherwise threatened with the inquisition if he opened his lips. — Barrow's Geographical Dictionary.

The most wretched peasants in the world are here, whose daily moans might draw tears from stones. Their villages stand as waste, like as the Sabunk, Garamont, or Arabian pavilions, wanting gardens, hedges, cloffes, barns, or back-fides. This sluggish and idle husbandry being a natural instinct of their neighbour or paternal Moors.

As for industrious arts, inventions, and virtues, they are as dull thereof as their late predecessors. And truly I confess, for the Spanish nun, she is more holy than the Italian; the former are only reserved to the friars and priests; the latter, being more noble, have most affinity with gentlemen. The Spaniard is of a spare diet, and temperate, if at his own cost he spend; but if given *gratis*, he hath the longest tucks that ever played at table.

After a doubtful and dangerous departure from Madrid, (as Sir Walter Aston, his Majesty's ambassador, can testify, with his followers, as some of his people have already here done the same), being the drift of my own countrymen, I came to Toledo, twelve leagues distant from thence. This city is situate on a ragged rock upon the river Tagus, being an archbishop's seat, the primate and metropolitan see of all Spain; yet a miserably impoverished and deformed place.

And although the Spaniard, of all towns in Spain, braggeth most of Toledo, it is neither (doubtless I know)

Naked ambition conferred upon poor Toledo. for beauty, bounds, nor wealth, if not for the Intrado belonging to it, amounting yearly (as they affirm) to two hundred thousand duckets; for there is no other Episcopal seat in all Castilia, or kingdom of Toledo. Going from Toledo,

I crossed the crossing Siera de Morada, (which divideth the kingdom of Granada from the Manſha of the new Castilia), and arrived at Granada, the capital of Andalusia.

Here the Moors had their last residence in Spain, and was magnanimously recovered, *anno* 1499, by Ferdinando the Castilian King, and his wife Isabella.

It

It standeth at the foot of Siera de Nevada, (the snowy Alpes), who reserve continually snow on the tops, and partly inclosed between two snow-melting rivers. In this city is the principal seat and college of justice of all south Spain; as Valladolid is for the north of Spain; the high court of Madrid having prerogative over both.

It hath a spacious and strong castle, which was builded by the Moors, and indeed a kingly mansion; where I saw the halls and bed-chambers of the Moorish kings, most exquisitely over-cieled, and indented with Mosaic work, excelling far any modern industry whatsoever.

The Emperor Charles V. and King of Spain, after his return from that misfortunate voyage of Algier, left a monument here, never likely to have been accomplished, that is the foundation of an admirable work advanced two stories high. Without it is quadrangled, and within round; having two degrees of encircling promontories, supported by marble pillars and alabaster arches.

Being dismissed here, it was my fortune, at Antecara, to encounter with a merchant (Mr Woodson, a Londoner) newly come from Venice, and bound to Malaga. With whom accompanied, the day following, being Sunday, with fore travel, we came within night to Malaga; and thereafter, parting to our several lodgings, the next morning I addressed myself to the shore-side; where I had notice given me of a French ship belonging to Toulon in Provence, that was lying in the Mould, and shortly bound for Alexandria: and finding that transportation most convenient for my design, (my safest course lying through Egypt, and the Red Sea, for Prester John's dominions and court), I presently made bargain with the shipmaster for my passage and victuals.

And now, attending my departure thence, upon the fifth day after my coming hither, *anno* 1620, Oct. 27. the

the English fleet that went against the pirates of Algier, cast anchor at midnight in the road; whose sudden coming yielded no small fear to the affrighted town, mistaking them for Turks: for the two castle-bells ringing backward, the thundering drums resounding, and the town all the latter part of the night in arms, bred such disturbing despair to their families, and distraction to themselves, that their wives and children fled to the higher castle, without the town; and I staid consort with the defendants till day-light. But morning come, and the English colours discovered, Don Jasper Ruiz de Peredas, the governor, went aboard of the English general Sir Robert Maunfil; where, after congratulating compliments, he being returned ashore, dismissed the burghers, and their arms.

Malaga affrighted with the English fleet.

In that afternoon, and the day following, being Saturday, there came hundreds ashore of my special friends, and old familiars, Londoners, and courtiers; with whom met, we were jovial together till Sunday morning. Then I went aboard the Lion, his Majesty's ship, and saluted the general, who kindly entertained me to the next day, that the fleet was divided in three squadrons, and he under sail; and then unhappily came I ashore in a fisher-boat, to my dear-bought destruction, being sore against the general's will but that I should have gone with him to Algier; save only that my linen, letters, and sacket, was lying in my hostery, and so could not go. But what shall I say?

Quod fortuna dedit, nemo tollere potest.

And so now followeth the sorrowful relation of my tragical sufferings, which, as briefly as I may, I shall succinctly avouch, although the larger the better to be understood.

Sad

Sad soul, mix truth with grave and prompt discourse ;

Let passions be ; this tragic style must rest
On faith and patience, columns of recourse,
Which underpropp'd my sufferings here exprest.
Lord, weigh my words : with wisdom, give me
grace,
In all this work to give thy glory place.

I was no sooner entered the town, and going up a private way to my lodging, to shun company and acquaintance, for that night was I to have embarked for Alexandria, but I was suddenly surpris'd in that narrow depopulated street, with nine Alguozilos, sergeants ; who inclosing me on both sides, laid violent hands on me, wrapping me up in a black frizado cloak ; and gripping my throat to stop my crying, they carried me on their arms to the governor's house, and inclosed me in a low parlour.

To which when the governor came, for I was acquainted with him before, I sadly spoke, saying, " My most noble governor, and worthy Lord, I humbly beseech your goodness to shew for what offence or cause I am thus violently brought before you, knowing that in me, and from my carriage, there is no injury committed." Whereat, without answer, and shaking his head, he caused inclose me in a little cabinet within the parlour, till he went for mafs, commanding them, with all possible, diligence to fetch hither the captain of the town, Don Francisco di Cordova, the Alcalde Major, and the states scriván, enjoining them to conceal my apprehending till further trial, under pain of death.

*A sad request
to a merciless
governor.*

At last he came from the mafs, and they come hither, the sergeants were dismissed, the doors made fast, and I was brought forth before these four cavaliers, all placed in chairs, and the scriván-table set, with pen, ink, and paper, to write my confession. Where, after long silence, the governor asked me of my nation, and how
D d long,

long, and how often, I had been out of my country? and whither I was bound? and how long I had been in Spain?

To whom I punctually returned my dividuate answers.

Whereupon, being inclosed in my former cabinet, within a while Don Francisco entered my room, demanded me if I had been in Seville, or was come from it; and clapping my cheeks, with a Judas-smile, made this intreaty, "My dear brother, and gallant companion, confess freely that you have been in Seville; for your countenance bewrayeth, there are some hidden purposes in the closet of your breast; and *Para fuyr-mas malo*, you had best in time relate to me the truth."

Whereat I saying No, as truth required, he went back, resolving them of my stiff denial; and they therewith incensed, I was invited to their former presence, and great accusations ensuing; first, the
A tyrannical constrained oath. governor made me swear, and hold up my hand, that I should tell the particular truth of every thing he was to demand of me; which indeed I did according to my knowledge.

Then he required, if the English general was a Duke, or great Signor? and what could be the reason that he refused to come ashore there? for that was the first impression of their false conceived jealousy. Next he asked me, if I knew his name, and the other captains? and what their names were? and what their intention was? or if I had known of their coming abroad, or preparation for it, before my departure from England?

The scrivani writing down, mean while, every word he spoke, and what I answered: well, to all the former particulars giving full satisfaction, and to the last denying that I knew of the forthcoming of the fleet, they all four gave a shout to the contrary. Whereupon the governor swearing, cursed and said, "Thou liest like a villain; thou art a spy and a traitor, and camest

camest directly from England of purpose to Spain; and hast been lying nine months in Seville, getting sure intelligence when the Spanish navy was looked for from the Indies; and that thou expressly came here to meet with the English armado, (knowing of their diet), to give them credible knowledge thereof; and that by thy information they might the more readily compass their ends; and thus thy treachery and subtilty hath been employed.

Whereat I being astonished, and seriously answering for the intention of the English fleet, and my own innocency concerning them, he threatening said, I was seen familiar, aboard and ashore, with the whole captains, and known to be of their special acquaintance; besides, three hundred other gentlemen, and mariners, with whom you was so familiar, and they with thee, that it far exceeded the kindness of accidental meeting.

*The English
acquaintance
my greatest
hindrance.*

All this we saw, and hourly remarked, (said he), and thou art newly come from the general, when thou wast taken; where, consulting with their council of war this morning, (concerning what they assigned thee to accomplish), thou hast delivered thy opinion, and the expectation of Seville, touching the returning of his Majesty's armado di plato; and therefore thou art a spiono, a traitor, and a scelerate velacco: for we are not ignorant (said he) of the burning of St Thome in the West Indies; for there, and then, we had a certain evidence of the English infidelity, and treacherous exploits in time of peace: wherefore these Lutherans, and sons of the devil, ought from us good Catholics to receive no credit.

Whereupon I besought him to send for some sufficient English factors, there sojourning, who would testify the contrary in my behalf, their country, and their fleet; but that he would not, for my being discovered. At last, seeing his damnable opinion, and to clear myself of such false imputations, I requested him

to send a sergeant to my posado, or lodging, for my cloak-bag, where he should see a more evident testimony of my carriage and honest purpose, and thereupon the approbation of my prince.

This demand he liked well, thinking thereby to find out all the secrets and practices of my negotiation with the English fleet. Whereupon forthwith,

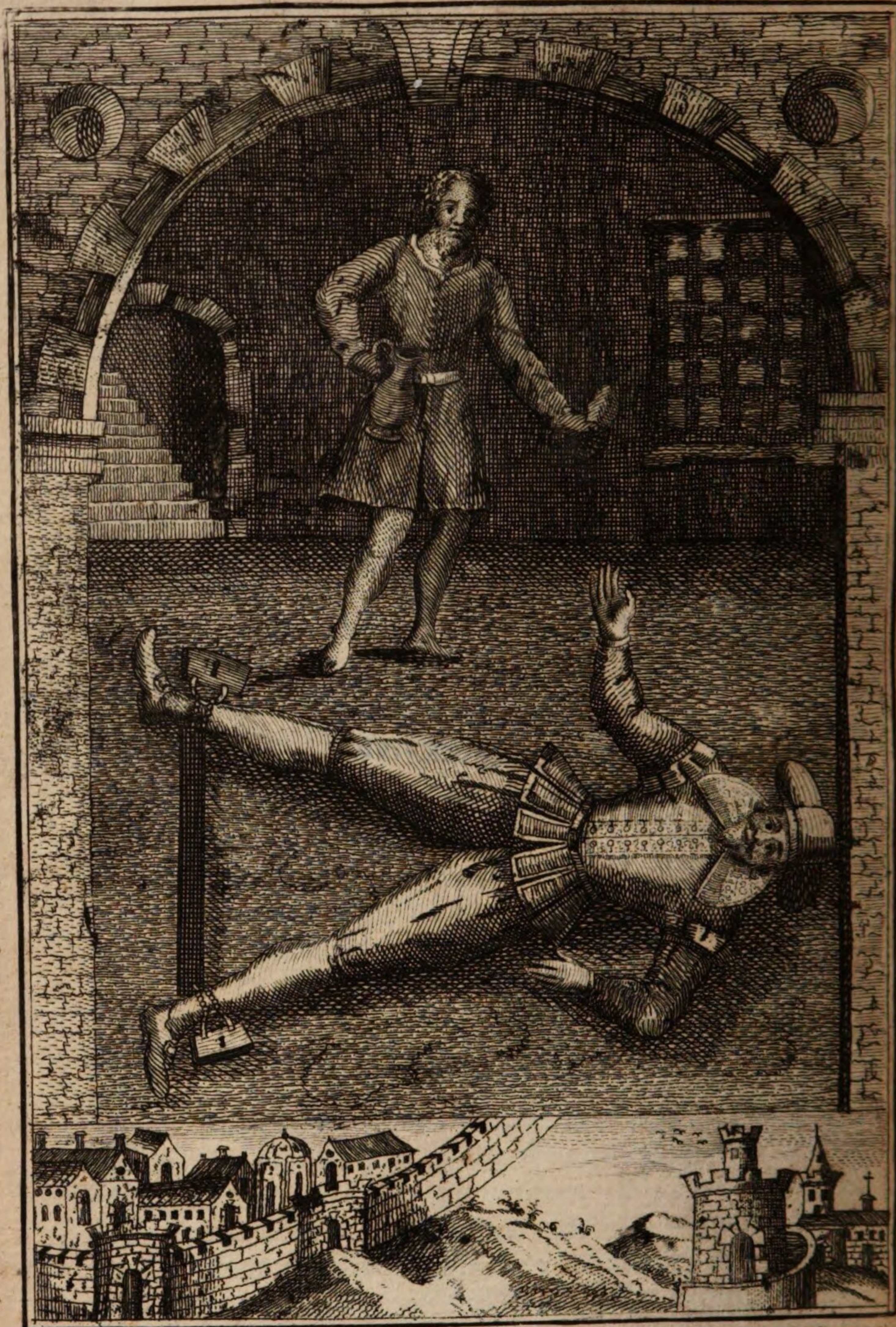
His Majesty's letters and seals misregarded. and with close circumspection, he had it brought unto him, my hostage-house not knowing where I was. The cloak-bag I opened myself; and shewing him his Majesty's letter in parchment, and under

his hand and seal, dated at Theobals 1619, July 17. and compiled and wrote by Mr Thomas Reid, then secretary for the Latin tongue, done in my behalf, and my intended resolution for Ethiopia; the King's safe conduct he misregarded, giving it neither respect nor trust.

After which, I shewed him divers patents, seals, and the great seal of Jerusalem, passports, and my book of arms, called *Liber amicorum*, wherein I had the hand-writs and arms of sundry kings, dukes, princes, viceroyes, marquises, earls, lords, and governors, &c. done in prose and verse, in Greek, Latin, or their maternal tongues, being as propitious pledges of their favour in commendation of me, and of my travels.

But all these would not satisfy him; nay, rather confirming a greater jealousy of his former suspicion. Whereupon, misconstruing all, they seized absolutely upon my cloak-bag, viewing and detaining all I had at their pleasure; shutting me up the third time. This done, and within night, being called again, the governor commanded me to subscribe my confession; which I voluntarily obeyed, though they still urged me further and further to confess. Meanwhile these four accomplices consulting about my imprisonment, the Alcalde, or chief Justice, would have had me along with him to the town-jail; but the Corrigidor refused, saying, "Para non star visto con sus pesanos;" That he may not be seen by his countrymen, it beho-
veth

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The Author in a Dungeon at MALAGA, extended at full Length on the Floor, loaded with Irons, far above the Weight of himself.

veth me to have a care of his concealment; and I warrant you (said he) I shall lodge him well enough.

Upon the knowledge of this, that I was secretly to be incarcerated in the governor's palace, entered the Mr Serjeant, and begged *An unjust robbery by unjust judges.* my money, and licence to search it; and liberty granted, he found in my pockets eleven Philippees, or ducatoons; and then unclothing me before their eyes, even to my shirt; and searching my breeches, he found in my doublet-neck, fast shut between two canvasses, a hundred and thirty-seven double pieces of gold. Whereat the Corrigidor arose, and counting my gold, being five hundred and forty-eight ducats, he said to the serjeant, Cloath him again, and inclose him there in the cabinet till after supper. Meanwhile the serjeant got the eleven ducatoons of silver; and my gold, which was to take me for Ethiopia, the governor seized upon; giving afterwards two hundred crowns of it to supply the new-laid foundation of a Capuchine monastery there, reserving the rest (being three hundred and forty-eight ducats) for his own avaricious ends.

This done, and midnight come, the serjeant and two Turkish slaves releasing me from the inferior room, brought me through certain ascending passages, to a chamber in a sequestrate side of the palace, toward the garden, and right above his summer-kitchen; where, there and then, the serjeants and the two slaves thrust on every ancle a heavy bolt, my legs being put to the full stride, by a strong gad of iron, far above a yard long; upon the ends of which the two bolts depended that were fastened about my legs; insomuch, that I could never sit up, nor walk, nor stand, nor turn me; but lay continually on my back, the irons being thrice heavier than my body.

Whereupon beholding my inevitable misery, and such monster-made irons, my sighing soul deplored thus:

A miserable and helpless lamentation. “Alas ! sergeant, and you two slaves, remark in me the just judgements of God ; and lo, how the heavens have reduced me to this meritorious reward, and truly deserved, for I have dearly and truly bought it ; that I, whose legs and feet the whole universe could scarcely contain, now these bolts and irons keep them fast, in a body-length of a stone-paved floor. O foolish pride ! O suppressing ambition, and vaporous curiosity ! Wo worth the fury of your aspiring vanities ; you have taken me over the face of the earth, and now left me in a dungeon hole. My soul, O my soul is leager unto this proverb, *Man proposeth, and God disposeth*. O happy had I been, thrice happy, in a shepherd’s life.”

Thus, and more, lamenting the destiny of nature, they left me with solacious words, and straight returned again with victuals, being a pound of boiled mutton, a wheat-bread, and a small pint of wine ; which was the first, the best, and the last of this kind, that ever I got in that woful mansion. The sergeant leaving me, (never seeing him more, till a more unwelcomed sight), he directed the slaves, that after I had contented my discontented appetite, they should lock the door, and carry the keys to Areta, a Spaniard, and keeper of the silver-plate.

A little while after he was gone, the other drudge left me also, who was newly turned Christian ; where being alone with Hazier, the natural Turk, who was to attend me, feed me, and keep me, lying nightly a constrained centinel, without the door of my imprisonment, he demanded me for what cause I was committed, and what bad action I was guilty of ? To whom I answered, Only for a naked suspicion ; mistaking the honourable intention of the English armado, I am as a spy apprehended, and falsely accused.

Whereupon the silly slave falling down on his knees, held up his hands, crying, *Hermano, Hermano, es muy grand*

grand menester, para tomar pazenza,
&c. “ Brother, brother, it is much need- *The mourning*
 ful for you to take all in patience ; for *of Hazier, a*
 it is impossible now you can escape some *Turkish slave.*
 fearful trial, and thereupon a horrible
 punishment, even unto death ; and, alas, to relieve you,
 if I durst, (as I dare not under death), to discover
 you to your countrymen, I would do it upon my
 knees.” And leaving me with a weeping good-night, he
 made fast the door, and transported the keys, as he was
 directed.

The day following, the governor entered my prison
 alone, intreating me to confess that I was a spy, and he
 would be my friend, and procure my pardon ; neither,
 in the mean time, should I lack any needful thing. But
 I still attesting my innocency, he wrathfully swore I
 should see his face no more, till grievous torments
 should make me do it ; and leaving me in a rage, he
 observed too well his condition.

But withal, in my hearing, he commanded Areta,
 that none should come near me, except the slave, nor
 no food should be given me, but three ounces of must-
 ed brown bread every second day, and a fuleto, or
 English pint of water ; neither any bed, pillow, or co-
 verlet, to be allowed me. And close up, said he, this
 window in his room, with lime and stone ; stop the
 holes of the door with double matts, hanging another
 lock to it ; and, to withdraw all visible and sensible
 comfort from him, let no tongue nor feet be heard
 near him, till I have my designs accomplished. And
 thou, Hazier, I charge thee, at thy incomings to have
 no conference with him, nor at thy outgoings abroad to
 discover him to the English factors, as thou wilt answer
 upon thy life, and the highest torments that can be de-
 vised.

These directions delivered, and alas too accessary to
 me in the performance, my room was made a dark-
 drawn dungeon, my belly the anatomy of merciless
 hunger, my comfortless hearing the receptacle of
 sounding bells, my eye wanting light, a loathsome lan-

guishing in despair, and my ground-lying body the woful mirror of misfortunes ; every hour withing another's coming, every day the night, and every night the morning.

And now being every second or third day attended with the twinkling of an eye, and my sustenance agreeable to my attendance, my body grew exceeding weak and infirm ; insomuch that the governor (after his answers received from Madrid) made haste to put in execution his bloody and mercilefs purpose before Christmas holy days ; left, ere the expiring of the Twelfth-day, I should be utterly famished, and unable to undergo my trial, without present perishing ; yet unknown to me, save only in this knowledge, that I was confident to die a fearful and unacquainted death : for it is a current custom with the Spaniard, that if a stranger be apprehended upon any suspicion, he is never brought to open trial, and common jail, but clapped up in a dungeon, and there tortured, imprisoned, or starved to death : Such meritorious deeds accompany these only titular Christians ; for the Spaniard accounteth it more to be called a Christian, than either to believe what he professeth, or to conform himself to the life of Christianity ; yea, I sparingly avouch it, he is the worst and baddest creature of the Christian name ; having no more religion, and less respect to devotion, than an external presumptuous show ; which perfecteth this ancient proverb, *The Spaniard est bonus Catholicus, sed malus Christianus.*

A speedy expedition, or mercilefs mischief.

In the end, by God's permission, the scourge of my fiery trial approaching ; upon the forty-seventh day after my first imprisonment, and five days before Christmas, about two a clock in the morning, I heard the noise of a coach in the fore-street, marvelling much what it might mean.

Within a pretty while, I heard the locks of my prison-

son-door opening ; whereupon bequeathing my soul to God, I humbly implored his gracious mercy and pardon for my sins ; for neither in the former night nor this, could I get any sleep, such was the force of gnawing hunger, and the portending heaviness of my presaging soul.

*My transportation
from prison
to the fields
to be racked.*

Mean while the former nine serjeants, accompanied with the scrivani, entered the room without speaking a word, and carrying me thence, with irons and all, on their arms through the house to the street, they laid me on my back in the coach ; where two of them sat up beside me, (the rest using great silence), went softly along by the coach side.

Then Baptista the coachman, an Indian Negro driving out at the sea-gate, the way of the shore-side, I was brought westward almost a league from the town, to a vine-press house, standing alone amongst vineyards, where they inclosed me in a room till day-light ; for hither was the rack brought the night before, and privately placed in the end of a trance.

And all this secrecy was used, that neither English, French, or Flemings, should see, or get any knowledge of my trial, my grievous tortures, and dreadful dispatch, because of their treacherous and cruel proceedings.

At the break of day the governor Don Francisco, and the Alcalde, came forth in another coach ; where, when arrived, and I invited to their presence, I pleaded for a trenchman, being against their law to accuse or condemn a stranger, without a sufficient interpreter ; the which they absolutely refused ; neither would they suffer or grant me an appellation to Madrid.

*A stranger
ought not to
be accused
with strangers,
without
an interpreter.*

And now, after long and new examinations, from morning till dark night, they finding my first and second confession to run in one, that the governor swore
he

he had learned the art of memory; saying further, Is it possible he can, in such distress, and so long a time, observe so strictly in every manner the points of his first confession, and I so often shifting him to and fro?

Well, the governor's interrogation and my confession being mutually subscribed; he and Don Francisco besought me earnestly to acknowledge and confess my guiltiness in time; if not, he would deliver me in the Alcalde's hands there present; saying moreover, "Thou art as yet in my power, and I may spare or pardon thee, providing thou wilt confess thyself a spy, and a traitor against our nation.

But finding me stand fast to the mark of my spotless innocence, he, invective and malicious he, after many tremendous threatenings, commanded the scrivener to draw up a warrant for the chief Justice: which being done, he set his hand to it, and taking me by the hand, delivered me and the warrant into the Alcalde Major's hands, to cause me to be tortured, broken, and cruelly tormented.

Whence being carried along on the serjeant's arms, to the end of a trance or stone-gallery, where the potaro or rack was placed, the encarnador, or tormentor, begun to disburden me of my irons, which being very hard imbolted, he could not unloose the wedges for a long time: whereat the chief justice being offended, the malicious villain, with the hammer

*A merciless
hurt before
they began to
rack me.*

which he had in his hand, struck away above an inch of my left heel with the bolt; whereupon I grievously groaning, being exceeding faint, and without my three ounces of bread, and a little water for three days together, the Alcalde said, "O traitor, all this is nothing, but the earnest of a greater bargain you have in hand.

Now the irons being dissolved, and my torments approaching, I fell prostrate on my knees, crying to the heavens.

"O Great and Gracious God, it is truly known to
thy

thy all-seeing eye, that I am innocent of these false and fearful accusations; and since, therefore, it is thy goodwill and pleasure, that I must suffer now by the wicked hands of merciless men, Lord, furnish me with courage, strength, and patience, lest, by an impatient mind, and feeble spirit, I become my own murderer, in confessing myself guilty of death, to shun present punishment. And according to the multitude of thy mercies, O Lord, be merciful to my sinful soul; and that for Jesus thy Son and my Redeemer's sake."

After this, the Alcalde and scriván, being both chair-set, the one to examine, the other to write down my confession and tortures, I was by the executioner stripped to the skin, brought to the rack, and then mounted by him on the top of it; where, soon after, I was hung by the bare shoulders, with two small cords, which went under both my arms, running on two rings of iron, that were fixed in the wall above my head.

Thus being hoisted to the appointed height, the tormentor descended below, and drawing down my legs, through the two sides of the three planked rack, he tied a cord about each of my ancles: And then ascending upon the rack, he drew the cords upward, and bending forward with main force my two knees against the two planks, the sinews of my two hams burst asunder, and the lids of my knees being crushed, and the cords made fast, I hung so demained for a large hour.

*The hams and
lids of my
knees were
both broken.*

At last the encarnador informing the governor, that I had the mark of Jerusalem on my right arm, joined with the name and crown of King James, and done upon the Holy grave, the Corrigidor came out of his adjoining stance, and gave direction to tear asunder the name and crown (as he said) of that heretic king, and arch-enemy to the Holy Catholic church *. Then the tormentor,

* Had King James been acquainted with this case, and at the same time been master of the same courage and resolution Oliver Cromwell

tormentor, laying the right arm above the left, and the crown upmost, did cast a cord over both arms, seven distant times ; and then lying down upon his back, and setting both his feet on my hollow pinched belly, he charged, and drew violently with his hands, making my womb support the force of his feet, till the seven several cords combined in one place of my arm, (and cutting the crown, sinews, and flesh to the bare bones), did pull in my fingers close to the palm of my hands : the left hand of which is lame so still, and will be for ever.

Now mine eyes begun to startle, my mouth to foam

Cromwell was, Lithgow would doubtless soon have obtained his liberty, and met with a different sort of treatment. The story of Cromwell is as follows. In Spain it is well known the inquisitors pretend to have a jurisdiction over the subjects of other kings ; of this we have an instance in Thomas Maynard Consul of the English nation at Lisbon, who was thrown into the prison of the inquisition, under pretence that he had said or done something against the Roman religion. M. Meadows, who was then resident, and took care of the English affairs at Lisbon, advised Cromwell of the affair ; and after having received an express from him, went to the King of Portugal, and in the name of Cromwell demanded the liberty of Consul Maynard. The King told him, it was not in his power ; that the Consul was detained by the inquisition, over which he had no authority. The resident sent this answer to Cromwell, and having soon after received new instructions from him, That since his Majesty had declared he had no power over the inquisition, he was commanded by Cromwell immediately to declare war against it. This unexpected declaration so terrified the King, and the inquisition, that they immediately determined to free the Consul from prison, and immediately opened the doors, and gave him leave to go out. The Consul refused to accept a private dismissal ; but, in order to repair the honour of his character, demanded to be honourably brought forth by the inquisition. The same Maynard continued many years after, in the same character in the reigns of Charles and James II. and lived at Lisbon till he was about eighty years old, without any molestation from the inquisition. This story was well known to all foreign merchants who lived at that time, and many years after, at Lisbon.—The General History of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal, in the notes, where the sufferings of our author is recorded.

and

and froth, and my teeth to chatter like *O cruel and*
to the doubling of drum-sticks. *O inhuman*
strange inhumanity of men-monster man *murder.*
glers ! surpassing the limits of their na-
tional law ; threescore tortures being the trial of
treason, which I had, and was to endure ; yet thus to
inflict a sevenfold surplufage of more intolerable cruel-
ties : And notwithstanding of my shivering lips in this
fiery passion, my vehement groaning, and blood spring-
ing fonts from my arms, broke sinews, hams, and
knees, yea, and my depending weight on flesh-cutting
cords ; yet they struck me on the face with cudgels,
to abate and cease the thundering noise of my wrestling
voice.

At last, being loosed from these pinnacles of pain,
I was hand-fast set on the floor, with this their incessant
imploration : Confess, confess, confess in time, for
thine inevitable torments ensue : where finding nothing
from me, but still innocent, “ O I am innocent, O Je-
sus ! the Lamb of God, have mercy upon me, and
strengthen me with patience to undergo this barbarous
murder.”

Then, by command of the Justice, was my trembling
body laid above, and along, upon the face of the rack,
with my head downward, inclosed with-
in a circled hole, my belly upmost, and *Here begun*
my heels upward toward the top of the *my main tor-*
rack : my legs and arms being drawn a- *tures.*
funder, were fastened with pins and
cords, to both sides of the outward planks ; for now
was I to receive my greatest torments.

Now what a pottare, or rack, is, (for it stood by the
wall declining downward), it is made of three planks
of timber, the upmost end whereof is larger than a
full stride ; the lower end being narrow, and the three
planks joining together, are made conformable to a
man's shoulders ; in the downmost end of the middle
plank there was a hole, wherein my head was laid.
In length it is longer than a man, being interlaced with
small cords from plank to plank, which divided my
supported

supported thighs from the middle plank ; through the sides of which exterior planks there were three distant holes in every one of them ; the use whereof you shall presently hear.

Now the Alcalde giving commission, the executioner laid fast a cord over the calf of my leg, then another on the middle of my thigh, and the third cord over the great of my arm ; which was severally done, on

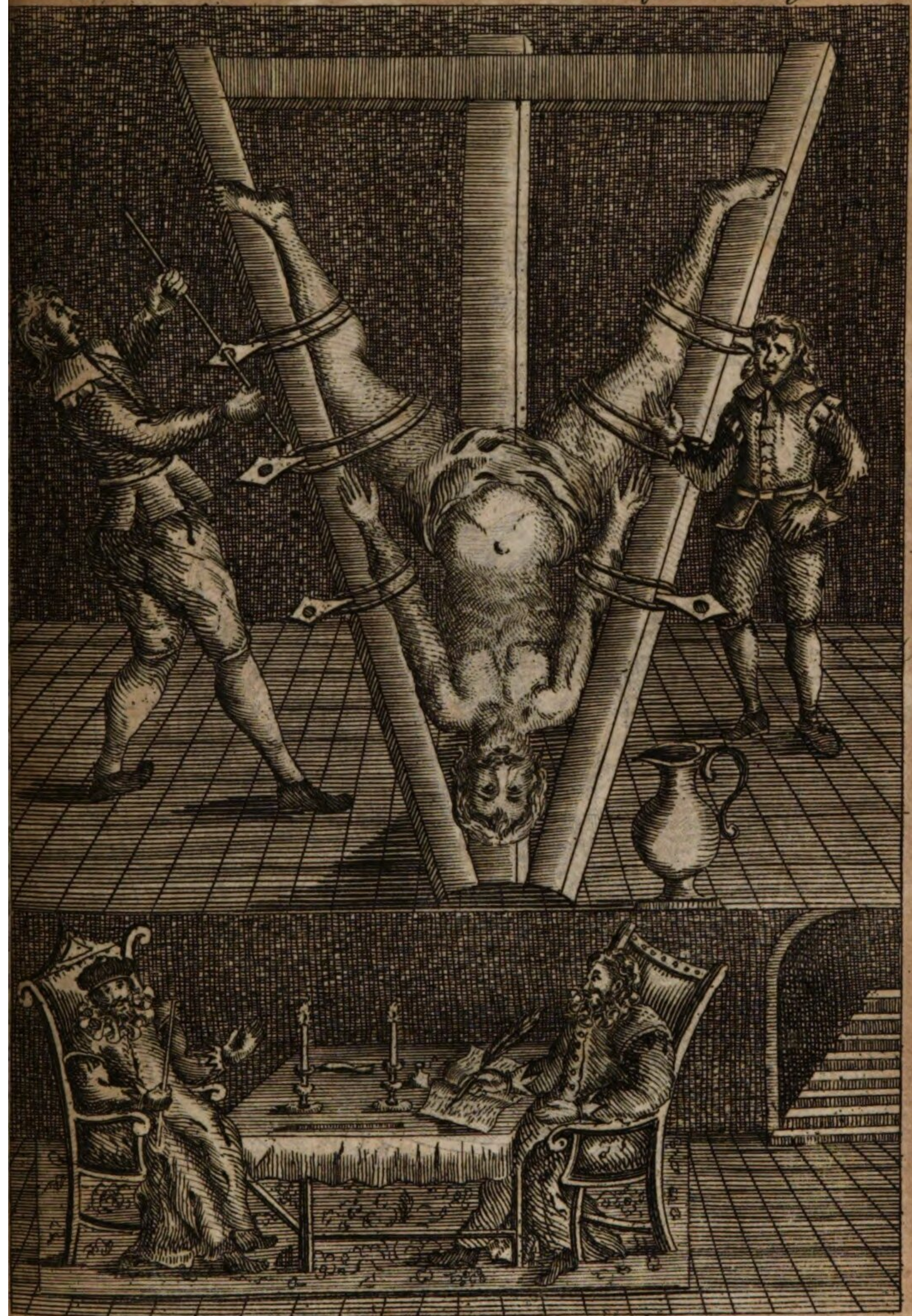
The manner how my body was first fastened to the rack before my tortures were inflicted. both sides of my body receiving the ends of the cords from these six several places, through the holes made in the outward planks, which were fastened to pins, and the pins made fast with a device : for he was to charge on the outside of the planks with as many pins as there were holes and cords, the cords being first laid meet to my skin ; and on every one of these six parts of my body

I was to receive seven several tortures, each torture consisting of three winding throws of every pin ; which amounted to twenty-one throws in every one of these six parts.

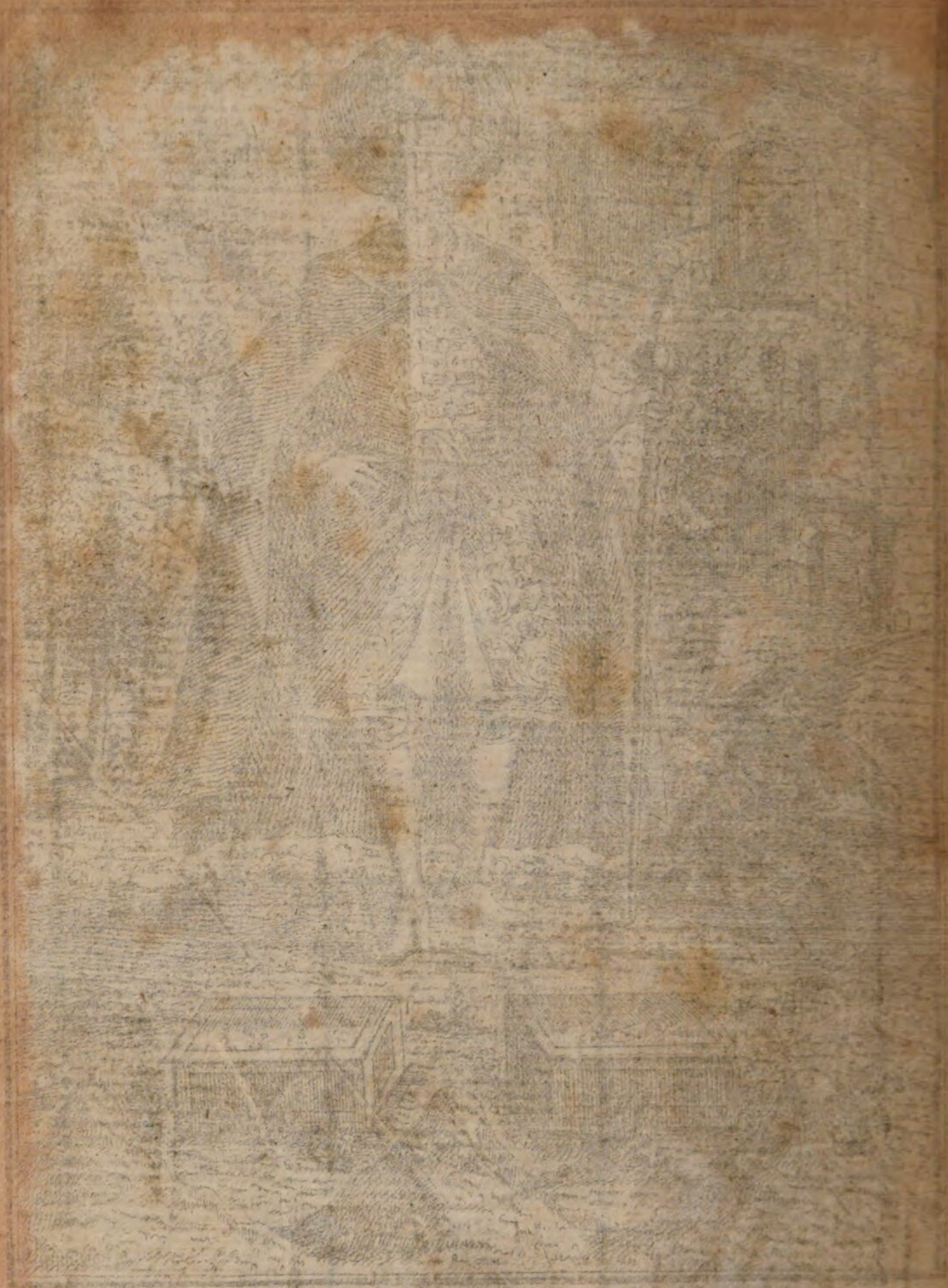
Then the tormentor having charged the first passage about my body, (making fast by a device each torture as they were multiplied), he went to an earthen jar standing full of water, a little beneath my head ; from whence carrying a pot full of water, in the bottom whereof there was an incised hole, which being stopped by his thumb, till it came to my mouth, he did pour it in my belly ; the measure being a Spanish sombre, which is an English pottle. The first and second services I gladly received ; such was the scorching drought of my tormenting pain, and likewise I had drunk none for three days before.

But afterward, at the third charge, perceiving these measures of water to be inflicted upon me as tortures, O strangling tortures ! I closed my lips, gainstanding that eager crudelity.

Whereat



*A Representation of the Author's grievous TORTURES
in the Inquisition at Malaga.*



WILLIAM LITTLETON
The above is a true and correct
copy of the original manuscript
of the life of William Littleton
as given by the author to the
editor of the "Lancet" in the
month of June 1851.

Whereat the Alcalde enraged, set my teeth asunder with a pair of iron cades, detaining them there at every several turn, both mainly and manually : whereupon my hunger-clunged belly waxing great, grew drum-like imbolstered ; for it being a suffocating pain, in regard of my head hanging downward, and the water re-ingorging itself in my throat with a struggling force, it strangled and swallowed up my breath from youling and groaning.

A cruelty beyond cruelties

And now, to prevent my renewing grief, (for presently my heart faileth and forsaketh me), I will only briefly avouch, that between each one of these seven circular charges, I was always re-examined, each examination continuing half an hour, each half hour a hell of infernal pain, and between each torment a long distance of life-quelling time.

Thus lay I six hours upon the rack, between four o'clock in the afternoon, and ten o'clock at night, having had inflicted upon me threescore and seven torments. Nevertheless, they continued me a large half hour, after all my tortures, at the full bending ; where my body being all begored with blood, and cut through in every part to the crushed and bruised bones, I pitifully remained, still roaring, howling, foaming, bellowing, and gnashing my teeth, with insupportable cries, before the pins were undone, and my body loosed.

A hellish and unsupportable pain.

True it is, it passeth the capacity of man, either sensibly to conceive, or I patiently to express, the intolerable anxiety of mind, and affliction of body, in that dreadful time I sustained.

At last my head being by their arms advanced, and my body taken from the rack, the water re-gushed abundantly from my mouth ; then they re-cloathing my broken, bloody, cold, and trembling body, being all this time stark naked, I fell twice in a sounding trance ; which they again refreshed with a little wine, and two warm eggs ; not done out of charity, but that I should be

be reserved for further punishment ; and if it were not well known that these sufferings are true, it would almost seem incredible to many, that a man being brought so low, with starving hunger, and extreme cruelties, could have subsisted any longer reserving life.

And now at last they charged my broken legs, with my former eye-frighting irons ; and
A lamentable remembrance of inhuman cruelty. done, I was lamentably carried on their arms to the coach, being after brought, and secretly transported, to my former dungeon ; without any knowledge of the town, save only these my lawless and merciless tormentors. Where, when come, I was laid with my head and my heels alike high, on my former stones.

The latter end of this woful night, poor mourning Hazier the Turk was set to keep me ; and on the morrow the governor entered my room, threatening me still, with more tortures, to confess ; and so caused he every morning, long before day, his coach to be rumbled at his gate, and about me, where I
A dreadful affrighting, or more tortures. lay, a great noise of tongues, and opening of doors ; and all this they did of purpose to affright and distract me, and to make me believe I was going to be racked again, to make me confess an untruth ; and still thus they continued every day of five days to Christmas.

Upon Christmas day, Mariana, the ladies gentlewoman, got permission to visit me, and with her licence, she brought abundance of tears, presenting me also with a dish of honey, sugar, some confections, and raisins in great plenty, to my no small comfort, besides using many sweet speeches, for consolation's sake.

She gone, and the morning of St John's day come, long before day, the town was in arms, the bells ringing backward, the people shouting, and drums beating ; whereat my soul was overjoyed, thinking that the Moors had seized upon all. And in the afternoon the

Turk

Turk coming to me with bread and water, being by chance the second day, I asked him what the fray was? Who replied, Be of good courage; I hope in God and Mahomet, that you and I ere long shall be set at liberty; for your countrymen, the English Armada, and mine the Moors, are joined together, and are coming to sack Malaga; and this morning post came from Alicant to inform the governor thereof: whereupon he and the town have instantly pulled down all the cooper shops and dwelling-houses, that were built without, by the shore-side, adjoining to the town-walls: But yet, said he, it is no matter; the town may easily be surpris'd, and I hope we shall be merry in Algier, for there is above a hundred sail seen coming hither; and therewith kissing my cheek, he kindly left me.

Alas, too good news not to have been true.

Indeed, as for such news from Alicant, the pulling down of twenty-eight houses, the shore planted with cannon, the suspicion they had of the English, and the town four days in arms, these were all true, save only the confederacy of the English with the Moors, that was false.

Witnesses Sir Richard Halkins, and the captains of his squadron, who, a little after Christmas, coming to the road, went to the governor to clear himself and the fleet of that absurd imputation laid to their charge. The Twelfth-day of Christmas expired, they began to threaten me on still with more tortures, even till Candlemas. In all which comfortless time, I was miserably afflicted with the beastly plague of gnawing vermin, which lay crawling in lumps, within, without, and about my body: yea, hanging in clusters about my beard, my lips, my nostrils, and my eye-brows, almost inclosing my sight.

And for a greater satisfaction to their merciless minds, the governor caused Areta, his silver-plate keeper, to gather and sweep the vermin upon me twice in eight days, which tormented me almost to death, being a

perpetual punishment ; for mine arms being broke, my hands lucken, and sticking fast to the palms of both hands, by reason of the shrunk sinews, I was unable to lift mine arms, or stir my fingers, much less to avoid the filthy vermin ; neither could my legs and feet perform it, being impotent in all. Yet I acknowledge the poor infidel, some few times, and when opportunity served, would steal the keys from Areta, and about midnight would enter my room, with sticks and burning oil, and sweeping them together in heaps, would burn the greatest part, to my great release ; or doubtless I had been miserably eaten up and devoured by them.

And now eight days before Candlemas, the slave informed me, that an English seminary priest, born in London, and belonging to the bishop's college of Malaga, and a Scottish cooper, named Alexander Ley, born in Dunbar, and there married, were translating all my books and observations out of English, into the Spanish tongue, bringing every other day numbers of wrote papers to the governor, and for their pains had thirty ducats allowed ; and that they were saying I was an arch-heretic to the Pope and the Virgin Mary.

Returning him thanks, I was assured of their bloody inquisition, preparing myself in God, with faith and patience to receive and gainstand it : for my spiritual resolution was surely founded ; being deprived of company, and human faces, I had entirely the light of my soul to celebrate God Almighty.

And hereupon, the second day after Candlemas, the governor, the inquisitor, a canonical priest, entered my dungeon, accompanied with two Jesuites, one of which was predicator and superior of the Tiatinean college of Malaga. Where being chair-set, candle lighted, and door locked,

No pain so grievous as a lame man to be still tormented with gnawing vermin.

A politic inquiry of a damnable inquisition.

ed, the Inquisitor, after divers frivolous questions, demanded me, if I was a Roman catholic, and acknowledged the Pope's supremacy? to whom I answered, I was neither the one, nor did the other. And what power (said I) have you to challenge me of my religion, since it is a chief article of the former concluded peace, that none of our king's subjects should be troubled by your inquisition? But as you have murdered me for alledged treason, so you mean to martyr me for religion.

And you governor, as you have tortured and hunger-starved this helpless body, consumed with cold and vermin, to the last of my life, the Almighty God, who revealeth the secrets of all things, (although I be never relieved) will certainly discover it to my country, and to the world. And is this the best of your good deeds you repay to our merciful king, who then being only king of Scotland, in the time of your just overthrow of 1588, gave succour to thousands of your shipwrecked people for many months, and, in the end, caused to transport them safely to their desired ports? leaving to the world's memory an eternal stamp of Christian bounty, mercy, and royal charity; and your acquittance to him, is an imputation of treachery to his fleet, detaining and misregarding his letters and seals, and now imposing on a tormented innocent your lawless inquisition.

To which the governor answered, All that was true; but it was done more through fear than love, and therefore deserved the less thanks; but in the mean time we will follow the uttermost of our ends. And the Jesuite predicator, to confirm his words, said, there was no faith to be kept with heretics; which directly or indirectly is the sublime policy of conquerors, which our mighty and invincible nation evermore taketh notice of, and observeth.

Then the inquisitor arising, expressed himself thus:

*A damnable
inquisitor ap-
plying false
attributes to
our blessed
lady.*

“Behold the powerful majesty of God’s mother, commander of her Son, equal to the Father, wife to the Holy Ghost, queen of heaven, protector of angels, and sole gubernatrix of the earth, &c. how thou being first taken as a spy, accused for treachery, and innocently tortured (as we acknowledge we were better informed lately from Madrid of the English intention), yet it was her power, her divine power, which brought these judgements upon thee; in that thou hast wrote calumniously against her blessed miracles of Loretta, and against his holiness, the great agent, and Christ’s vicar on earth: Therefore thou hast justly fallen into our hands, by her special appointment; thy books and papers are miraculously translated, by her special providence, with thy own countrymen; wherefore thou mayest clearly see the impenetrable mysteries of our glorious Lady in punishing her offenders; and for a humble satisfaction, repent thee of thy wickedness, and be converted to the holy mother-church.” And after many such like exhortations of all the four, the inquisitor assigned me eight days for my conversion; saying, that he, and the Tiatines would twice a-day visit me in that time, intreating me to be advised, against the next morning, of those doubts and difficulties that withstood my conscience.

Then in leaving me, the Jesuit predicator making a cross upon my crossed breast, said, *My son, behold you deserve to be burnt quick, but by the grace of our Lady of Loretta, whom you have blasphemed, we will both save your soul and body.* Spewing forth also this feminine Latin, *Nam mansueta et misericordiosa est ecclesia: O ecclesia Romana! extra quam non est salus.* They gone, and I alone, all this night was I instant with my God, imploring his grace to rectify my thoughts, illuminate my understanding, confirm my confidence, beatify my memory, to sanctify

tify my knowledge, to expel the servile fear of death, and to save my soul from the intangling corruption of any private ends, illusions, or worldly considerations whatsoever.

The next morning, the three ecclesiastics returned, and being placed with chairs and candles, the inquisitor made interrogation of what difficulties, errors, or misbelief I had? To whom ingenuously I answered, I had none, neither any difficulty, error, nor misbelief; but was confident in the promises of Jesus Christ, and assuredly believed his revealed will in the gospel, professed in the reformed Catholic church; which being confirmed by grace, I had the infallible assurance in my soul of the true Christian faith.

To these words he answered Thou art no Christian, but an absurd heretic, and without conversion, a member of perdition. Whereupon I replied, Reverend Sir, the nature of charity and religion do not consist in opprobrious speeches: wherefore if you would convert me (as you say) convince me by argument; if not, all your threatenings of fire, death, or torments, shall not make me shrink from the truth of God's word in sacred scriptures. Whereupon the mad inquisitor clapt me on the face with his foot, abusing me with many railings; and if the Jesuites had not intercepted him, he had stabbed me with a knife; where, when dismissed, I never saw him more.

The fury of a mad inquisitor to have almost slain me.

The third day ensuing, and having broke their promise, the two Jesuites returned, and after a frowning silence, the superior asked me of my resolution. I told him, I was resolved already, unless he could show me good reasons to the contrary. Whereupon, having past with me some few superficial arguments, concerning their seven sacraments, intercession, transubstantiation, images, purgatory, miracles, merit, &c. he began to brag of their Church, her antiquity, universality, and uniformity.

Ancient, no (said I); for the profession of my faith hath

hath been ever since the first time of the apostles ; and Christ had ever his own church, (howsoever obscure), in the greatest time of your darkness. So Rome, four hundred years and upwards, was the true church ; but afterwards falling into apostacy by means of her corrupt leaders, we have left her in nothing, but what she hath left her former self.

Universal, no ; although she assumeth a Catholic name, was not the church in the east, a greater church than yours in the west, for hundreds of years ? and I pray you what are now the oriental churches in Asia, (besides the Greeks), and the Ethiopian Africans, that do not so much as know, or hear of your Pope, far less his profession ? With no small ado Boniface III. obtained of Phocas the emperor to be called universal bishop ; which was assisted afterward by Pippin the French king, and ratified by Paleologus, the father of Constantine, who lost Constantinople. And what long controversies about this new power, was between your Popes, and the councils of Carthage, Chalcedon, Ephesus, Alexandria, and Nice ?

Uniform, no ; some of your priests give the sacrament only in bread, for real flesh and blood ; some in wine without bread, and some in both. The Bavarians in their own language, sing the psalms in prose at their masses, which is not done elsewhere. The second commandment goeth current amongst some of your Catholics in France, yet not in Bretagne, nor Provence ; so doth it in Austria and Bavaria, but not in Italy and Spain.

The Romish church falls short of true antiquity, universality, and uniformity.

It is most evident, what your former Popes have confirmed, the succeeding Popes have disannulled, and daily do ; as their present lives, and your ancient histories, bear a true record.

And was there not at one time three Popes in three several places ? and oftentimes two at once ; one professing one heresy, and another atheism. What mutinies and malice are daily among your monasteries, each envying

envying another's privilege, another's preferment, another's wealth : and your order, Father, by all the other monastics, is hated and vilipended to death ; besides diversities of doctrine, between your professors and the Dominicans, and hundreds of like difunties you have both in ceremony and order, which now I suspend : So I pray you, Father, where is your uniformity, much less your universality, and worst of all, your antiquity ?

Having thus concluded, the fiery-faced Jesuits, with boisterous menacings, left me ; and the eighth day thereafter, being the last day of their inquisition, they returned again, in a more mild disposition : where, after divers arguments on both sides, the two Jesuits, with tears distilling from their eyes, solidly protested they were sorry, from their heart, for that terrible death I was to undergo ; and above all, the losing of my soul. And falling down on their knees, cried, “ Convert, convert, O dear brother ! for our blessed Lady's sake, convert.” To whom I replied, that neither death nor fire I feared, for I was resolved for both ; yet thinking myself unworthy to suffer for Christ and the gospel's sake, considering my vileness, and my own unworthiness : yet the Spirit of God assureth my faith, it is his divine pleasure it should be so, that I must suffer. Wherefore, if I should turn, trust me not ; for I would but dissemble with you, through fear, flattery, or force, to shun present death.

*The Jesuits
last allure-
ments for my
conversion to
their sect.*

Whereupon they called the governor, and after their privy consulting, he thus spoke : “ Dear brother, my greatest desire is, to have thee a good Christian, a Roman-catholic ; to which, if thy conscience will yield, I will shew thee as great courtesy, as thou hast received cruelty : for pity it were that such an invincible spirit, and endued with so many good parts, should perish in both worlds for ever. Pluck up thy heart, and let the love of our blessed Lady enter into thy soul ; let not thy former sufferings dismay thee ; for (thy sores being

yet green and curable) I shall transport thee to a fine chamber, and there thou shalt have all things needful for the recovery of thy health and strength. Thy money and patents shall be refunded; but thy heretical books are burnt already. And lastly, (said he) I will send thee with my own servant to court, council, and king, with letters from the holy inquisition, and from me faithfully promising thou shalt enjoy a pension of three hundred ducats a-year."

But having satisfied his bewitching policy with a Christian constancy, they all three left me in a thundering rage; vowing, I should that night have the first seal of my long sorrows. And directing their course to the bishop and inquisitor, for the (governor had wrested the inquisition upon me, to free him of his former aspersions laid upon the English fleet, and my trial therefore, converting it all to matters of religion), the inquisition, I say, sat forthwith; where first, I was condemned to receive that night eleven strangling tor-

A condemnatory sentence to death by the inquisition.

ments in my dungeon; and then, after Easter-holidays, I should be transported privately to Granada, and there, about midnight, to be burnt body and bones into ashes, and my ashes to be flung into the air. Well, that same night the scrivener, sergeants, and the young English priest, entered my melancholy prison; where the priest, in the English tongue, urging me all that he could, though little it was he could do, and not prevailing, I was disburdened of mine irons, unclothed to my skin, set on my knees, and held up fast with their hands; where instantly setting my teeth asunder with iron caddes, they filled my belly full of water, even gorging to my throat: then with a garter they bound fast my throat, till the white of mine eye turned upward; and being laid on my side, I was by two sergeants tumbled to and fro seven times through the room, even till I was almost strangled. This done, they fastened a small cord about each of my great toes, and hoisting me therewith to the roof of a high loft, (for

(for the cords ran on two rings of iron fastened above), they cut the garter, and there I hung, with my head downward, in my tormented weight, till all the gushing water dissolved. This done, I was let down from the loft, quite senseless, lying a long time cold dead among their hands; whereof the governor being informed, came running up stairs, crying, Is he dead? O fie villains, go fetch me wine; which they poured in my mouth, regaining thereby a slender spark of breath.

These strangling torments ended, and I re-cloathed, and fast bolted again; they left me lying on the cold floor, praising my God, and *A Turkish* singing of a psalm. The next morning, *slave's charity* the pitiful Turk visiting me with bread *in the bowels* and water, brought me also secretly in *of compassion.* his shirt-sleeve two handful of raisins and figs, laying them on the floor, amongst the crawling vermin; for having no use of arms or hands, I was constrained by hunger and impotency of time, to lick one up with another with my tongue. This charity of figs the slave did once every week or fortnight, or else I had long or then famished.

After which sorrowful distrefs, and inhuman usage, the eye-melting Turk taking displeasure, fell five days sick, and bedfast; but the house Spaniards understanding his disease, made him believe I was a devil, a forcerer, a necromancer, and a blasphemous miscreant against their Pope, their Lady, and their church; giving him such a distaste, that for thirty days he never durst look me in the face, being afraid of witchcraft.

All the time of his absence, one Ellinor the cook, an Indian Negro woman, attended me; for she being a Christian drudge, had more liberty to visit me than the slavish infidel; who certainly, under God, prolonged then my languishing life, conveying me, for four weeks space, once a-day, some less or more nourishment, and in her pocket a bottle-glass of wine. Being no ways like to the soul-betraying tears of her crocodilean sex,
which

which the Spanish proverb prettily avoucheth : “ Las mugeres engannan a los hombres ; dellas lastimandoles con sus lagrimas fingidas, dellas hallagandoles, con palabras lesongeras.” viz. Women deceive men ; some of them grieving them with their feigned tears, and others fawning on them with flattering words. But,

Kind Ellinor, though black by nature born,
 Made bounty, not her beauty, to adorn
 Her new-chang'd Pagan life, (though veil'd by night
 Of Romish shades) to shine on me more bright,
 Than sun-scorch'd Ethiop beams, art-glancing
 spangles,
 Or that Egyptian bird, man's sight entangles
 With rarest colours ; for her loving sight,
 Tho' black as pitch, gave me transparent light,
 Food, and stol'n food, tho' little, yet enough ;
 (The finer foil, the ebber tills the plough) ;
 Second with wine, a mutchkin, thrice a-week
 Pack'd in her pocket, for it might not speak.
 Thus females have extremes, and too we see,
 Either too wicked, or too good they be ;
 For being good, no creature can excel them ;
 And being bad, no ill can parallel them :
 But sure this gift from course of nature came,
 Rais'd up by heaven to be my nursing dame ;
 For she, a savage bred, yet shew'd more love
 And human pity than desert could move ;
 Wherein she stain'd the Spaniards ; they did nought
 But what revenge on slaughter'd sorrow wrought.
 Thus, they who turn'd her, went themselves astray,
 And she, though ignorant, trac'd the Christian way :
 For which, great God reward her, make her soul
 As white within, as she without is foul ;
 And if I might, as reason knows, I would
 Her love, and praise, my deeds should crown with
 gold.

Now

Now about the middle of Lent, Hazier, my former friend, was appointed to attend me again, suspecting Ellinor's compassion: but as my miseries were multiplied, my patience in God was redoubled; for men are rather killed with the impatience they have in adversity, than adversity itself: and of all men, that man is most unhappy, to whom God, in his troubles, hath not given patience; for as the violent enemy of age is grief, so is the mind's impatience the arch-corrupter of all our troubles. But indeed in the

An impatient mind in trouble is a triple torture.

weakness of judgement, when men seem lost by long affliction to themselves, then they are often and ever nearest to God: for who would have thought that I, who had seen so many sects and varieties of religion dispersed over the face of the earth, could have stuck fast to any religion at all; travelers being reputed to be *Ubique et omnibus parati*. But I will tell thee, Christian, it was the grace of God in me, and not mine; for as fire lying hid under ashes, when touched will flame; so I, seeming to myself careless of Christianity, then God pricking my conscience, made trial of my faith: for Christ forbid, that every ship which coasteth the rocky shore, should leave her ruins there.

This I speak not for any self-praise, but to glorify God, and to condemn the rash censures of opinion, and, with Phocion, I mistrust myself, because of popular applause: *Erubuit quasi peccasset, quod placuerit*. But now, to abbreviate a thousand circumstances of my lamentable sufferings, which this volume may not suffer to contain, by God's great providence, about a fortnight before Easter, anno 1621, there came a Spanish cavalier of Granada to Malaga, whom the governor one night invited to supper, being of old acquaintance; where, after supper, to entertain discourse, the governor related and disclosed to the stranger, (God working thereby my discovery and deliverance), all the proceedings and causes of my first apprehending, my confessions, torments, starvings, their mistaking of the English fleet, and finally,

God's great mercy in my first discovery by a stranger

the

the wresting of the inquisition upon me, and their condemnatory sentence ; seeming also much to lament my misfortunes, and praising my travels and deserts.

Now, all this while the gentleman's servant, a Flanderish Fleming, standing at his master's back, and hearing all the governor's relations, was astonished to hear of a fakeleis stranger to have endured, and to endure, such damnable murder and cruelty. Whereupon the discourse ending, and mid-night past, the stranger returned to his lodging, where the Fleming having bedded his master, and himself also in another room, he could not sleep all that night ; and if he slumbered, still he thought he saw a man torturing, and burning in the fire ; which he confessed to Mr Wilds when morning came.

Well, he longed for day ; and it being come, and he clothed, he quietly left his lodging, inquiring for an English factor ; and coming to the house of Mr Richard Wilds, the chief English consul, he told him all what he heard the governor tell his master ; but could not tell my name ; only Mr Wilds conjectured it was I, because of the other's report of a traveller, and of his first and former acquaintance with me there.

Whereupon the Fleming being dismissed, he straight sent for the other English factors, Mr Richard Busbiche, Mr John Corney, Mr Hanger, Mr Stanton, Mr Cook, Mr Rowley, and Mr Woodson ; where advising with them what was best to be done for my relief, they sent letters a-

These are the English factors which first wrought my relief.

way immediately, with all post diligence, to Sir Walter Aston, his Majesty's ambassador lying at Madrid. Upon which he mediating with the King and council of Spain, obtained a straight warrant to command the governor of Malaga, to deliver me over into English hands ; which being come, to their great disliking, I was released on Easter Saturday before mid-night, and carried upon Hazier the slave's back to Mr Busbiche's

biche's house, where I was carefully attended till daylight.

Meanwhile (by great fortune) there being a Squadron of his Majesty's ships lying in the road, Sir Richard Halkins came early ashore, accompanied with a strong train, and received me from the merchants; whence I was carried on mens arms, in a pair of blankets, to his Majesty's ship the Vanguard. And three days thereafter, I was transported to a ship bound for England, the fleet's victualler, named *The Good will of Harwich*, by direction of the General Sir Robert

Maunfel. Where being well placed, *I durst not* and charge given by Sir Richard Halkins to the shipmaster William Westerdale, for his carefulness towards the *stay ashore* *for fear of the* *inquisition.*

preservation of my life, which then was brought so low and miserable, the aforesaid merchants sent me from shore (besides the ship's victuals) a suit of Spanish apparel, twelve hens, a barrel of wine, a basketful of eggs, two roves of figs and raisins, two hundred oranges and lemons, eight pounds of sugar, a number of excellent good bread, and two hundred reals in silver and gold, besides two double pistoles Sir Richard Halkins sent me as a token of his love.

The kindnesses of whom to bury in oblivion, were in me the very shame of ingratitude, I being then a lost man, and hopeless of life, which argued in them a greater singularity of kindness and compassion. Yet I remember, for all my lameness and

distracted, I intreated Sir Richard Halkins to go ashore to the governor, and demand him for my gold, my eight patents, my book of arms, and his Majesty's letters and seals; the which he *Religious Sir* *Richard Hal-* *kins, my spe-* *cial friend.*

willingly obeyed, (being accompanied with Captain Cave and Captain Raymond), but could obtain nothing at all, save blandishments and lying excuses.

And now, on the twelfth day of our lying in the road, our ship weighing her anchors, and hoisting her sails,

fails, we passed through the straits of Gibraltar, or Fretum Herculeum; for this was the furthest land that Hercules could attain unto; which made him erect a pillar, and indent thereon, *Nil ultra*. But when Charles V. returned from that untoward voyage of Algier, he caused to set up in the same place, *Plus ultra*.

Here, in this channel, I remarked a perpetual current, flowing from the ocean to the Mediterranean sea, without any regrefs; which indeed is admirable, the Mediterranean seas being hemmed in, and environed in with the main continent of South Europe, the north and north-west coasts of Asia, and the northern parts of Africa, save only the narrow passage of Hellespont, which from Mare Propontis bendeth his course to Mare Euxinum; and yet the Euxine, or Black Sea, hath no affinity with any other moving waters, being likewise encompassed with the main continent; and from it also runneth a continual current, through Bosphorus Thracicus, to the Mediterranean.

This narrow sea on Afric, or side of Fez, consisteth between Cape di Sprat and the promontory of Ceuta, and upon the coast of Spain, between Cape de Trafolger and the butting forehead-land of Gibraltar, or Jubile Tauro; the passage being five leagues broad, and nine in length.

And to be brief, upon the fiftieth day after my departure from Malaga, I arrived at Dartford upon Thames; whence the next morning I was carried to Theobald's on a feather-bed, and brought to the privy gallery, for the King's coming from park. Witness all the court of England, even from the King to the kitchen, what a martyred anatomy I was at their first sight of me, and what small hope was either expected of my life or recovery.

Where, when immediately having made my most humble and grievous complaints unto his Sacred Majesty, his gracious consideration (in the mean time) was such, for the recovery of my health, that I was twice sent to the bath

bath at the charges of his royal love, during the space of twenty-seven weeks; where, by the divine providence, and his princely clemency, I have recovered for the time, in a large measure, the health and strength of my body, although my left arm and crushed bones be incurable,

Meanwhile, in the first week of my arrival in England, I was conveyed from Theobald's (by his Majesty's direction) to Don Diego Surmento de Gundamore, the Spanish ambassador, then resident in Holborne; where he votally *A false promise unper-* undertook, before the then two Lord *formed.* Marquisses Hamilton and Buckingham,

(confirming it the day following to his Majesty at Greenwich), that after a fair trial had from Spain, concerning my grievances, I should have all my money, cloaths, observations, testimonial patents, and his Majesty's seals restored to me again, with a thousand pound Sterling also, (being modified by his royal pleasure), of the governor of Malaga's means, for the maintaining of my lame and racked body.

These promises were made the 6th of June 1621, and were to be performed against Michaelmas-day ensuing. But this day come, he continued his drifts to the Prima Vera; and it also arrived, he deferred time, with new protestations, only to Easter or Pascua; and that season come, he turned my Pascua to prison. For a little before his departure, (seeing his policy too strong for my oppressed patience), I told him flatly in his face, from the grief of my soul, what he was, and what he went about; which afterward proved true. Whereupon, in the chamber of presence, before the Emperor's ambassador, and divers knights and gentlemen his Majesty's servants, he rashly adventured the credit of leager honour, in a *A single combat between* single combat against me, a retorted *a Spanish* plaintive; where indeed his fistula was *Earl and a* contrabanded with a fist, and for victory *Scottish traveler.* favour lent him authority, because of my commitment; for I lay nine weeks incarcerate in the Marshalsea at

Southwark;

Southwark; whence I returned with more credit than he left England with honesty, being both vanquished and victor. And my muse, left to mourn for my liberty, deplored thus.

Low levell'd lie my lofty sharing aims,

Low droops the flight of my swift-wing'd design;

Low bows that top, whose height true merit claims;

Low headlong falls the scope of my engine;

Low turns my round, harsh grow the sacred nine;

Low sink my joys, pale grief converts in care;

Low lurks ambition in this breast of mine;

Low stoop these smiles, that fortune wont to share;

Low rest my drifts, my curious travels rare;

Low scud the limits of my high-bred thought;

Low plunge my hopes in dark deeps of despair;

Low I o'erthrown, with crosses low am brought;

Low live I here, in sad restraint and strife;

Low then the lower of the lowest life;

Low as I am, I'll lowly sacrifice

Low deep-fetch'd sighs to Heaven, on my low knees.

But I remember, in the aforefaid time of this my imprisonment, there were two Papists, my countrymen, who wrote to me a letter, not like to a familiar epistle of Cicero; no, but they would

*A false aspers-
sion laid on me
by Papists.*

have fastened an untruth upon me, affirming that I was a Roman Catholic in my heart; and that they would justify it, that I received the sacrament at Rome

in the first year that Paulus (Burfesius) Papa Quintus came to his triple crown. To whom, in a true and Christian defence, my serious and approbable reply was thus.

This

This is your Papal mark,
That as you run astray,
You either would, or needs will have,
Christ's flock to lose their way.
Can you avouch this point,
And dare you blaze your shame,
Thus, painter-like, to pourtray so
A figure for a name?
Shall symbolizing I,
By paragraphs defin'd,
In paradoxical passages,
Equivocate my mind?
No tincture shall ingross,
My senses so delude,
To maculate my splendid path,
With positives intrude.
In this aversion I,
I more than victor live;
Let critics stern aspersions spew,
This project I'll atchieve.
My words shall seal the truth,
My heart reserves the stamp;
Wherein my characters of faith,
As zealous shall incamp.
That defuetude of soul,
I never did embrace,
Nor shall, nor did, God is my judge;
Such was his heavenly grace.
No secondary mean
Shall aggravate my hope;
The ancient rule of Primacy
Shall be my modern scope.
Can such occurrents stand,
As ominous in me,
When you detract, and falsely wrest
The truth in perjury?
It is your lineal strain,
Collusions to induct;
With mystic contradictories,
Your implies you construct.

No inference can pry,
Nor strange illation prove,
In your exorbitant brains,
My period I did move.
This Microcosmus mine,
Such imputation scorns;
And turns this grim demoniate spite,
On your hell-forked horns.
My name you press to stain,
By base abortive lies,
To circumsise my recent fame,
With sharp-edg'd calumnies;
And labour to depress,
That confluence I have,
From heaven ascrib'd, confirm'd by grace,
The pledge my spirit doth crave.
That strife cannot avail,
I so assume the right;
Your doubled dark'ned eyes perceive,
I triumph in the light.
It's not your bloody priests,
Nor tortures can prevail:
I pass'd your purgatory once,
The rest must you impale.
For what by dread or strain,
You cannot work nor do,
You wrest, you lie, you paint, you feign,
And add illusions too.
These latent forgeries,
Annexed to your faith,
As pendicles precipitate,
Inhance your soul to death;
With shrewd acerbious speech,
You anathematize;
My will reciprocal to yours,
Such guile you moralize.
But this reflexing heart,
In a transparent flame,
Can by experience construe well
Your churches fire and dame.

No tort I introduct,
 To damnify your sex,
 Whose empty skulls (illuding fear)
 Yourselves perversely vex.
 I organize the truth,
 You allegate the sense,
 Disbending cominous defects,
 In your absurd pretence.
 Your immaterial proofs,
 I wish you would detect;
 My process craves sedulity,
 For what you gulls suspect.

After this, their following answer being mortified, and I set at liberty by a just favour of the privy-council, my formalists durst never attempt any further dispute with me, neither any passing countenance in our encounters. But what shall I say concerning my grievances? *Sed qui patitur vincit*: Since there is no help or redress to be had for wrongs past, no, neither (alas) for any present in either mean or mighty falls; for when the stars of great states decline under the self-same constellation of my sorrows, and made the deplored for spectacles of the inconstancy of fortune, what shall I then, in a private life, and public pilgrimage, expect, but the common calamity of this age, and the irrevocable redress of my miseries sustained, for this crown and kingdom of England, which shall be presently cleared? Yet would to God I might do as Xerxes the Persian king did, that when the Greeks had taken Sardis, the metropolis of Lydia, he commanded one of his servants to stand before him every day at dinner, and cry aloud, saying, *The Grecians have taken Sardis*; whereby he was never at quiet till it was recovered.

So would I, oppressed I by mighty powers, (though not a king, yet the faithful subject of a king), cry daily, from the heart-broken sorrow of my incompat-

*Incompatible
grief, with-
out deserved
relief.*

tible injuries, Oh barbarous and inhuman Malaga ! when shall my soul be revenged on thy cruel murder ? and when shall mine eyes see thy merciless destruction ? But tush, what dream I ? Now-a-days grief can find no relief, far less compassion, and meaner revenge ; and so farewell satisfaction, when flattering fear dare challenge obsequiousness to the alteration of any thing.

But afterward, when death, Heaven's fatal messenger, and enemy to nature, had darted King James of matchless memory, who sometimes, (besides my sovereign), in some respects, and for the former cause, was a father to me, then was I forcibly (I say) constrained to prefer a bill of grievance to the upper house of parliament, *anno* 1626, which I daily followed seventeen weeks. Well, my grievances were heard and considered ; and thereupon an order granted me (bearing the Lords reference and pleasure concerning my suit) unto Sir Thomas Coventry, Lord Keeper of England's great seal, and through whose office my business should have passed ; which order was delivered unto him by Mr James Maxwell Knight of the Black Rod, and one of his Majesty's bed-chamber, in behalf of the Lords of the upper house. The order thus being

*A direction
for certifi-
cates by the
Lord Keeper.*

reserved then with the Lord Keeper for a month, he appointed me to fetch him (because of a warrant to his state-office) the certificates of Sir Walter Aston, Sir Robert Maunsel, and Sir Thomas Button, to clear my sufferings, and the causes wherefor : which I gladly obeyed, and brought all their three certificates unto him ; yea, and Sir Walter Aston (besides his hand-writ) spoke seriously face to face with him thereupon.

Meanwhile the house breaking up abruptly, (because of sovereign disliking), their order for my suit could take none effect as then, nor yet since, in regard it was no session of parliament ; and so my order and relief lieth suspended till some happy time.

But

But now to confound the calumnious and vituperous Papists, the miscreant and miserable Atheists, the peevish and self-opiniating Puritans, the faithless misbelieving mangrels of true religion, and of this truth ; and the very objections have been said sometimes in my face, by irreligious and disdainful Nullifidians, who have said and thought, that I could neither be so constant, nor they so cruel ; I think it not amiss to set down verbally one of their certificates here, being all one style, and to one purpose ; and thus it followeth.

*To the Right Honourable Sir Thomas Coventry Knight,
Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, &c.*

“ **M**AY it please your Honour, I have taken boldness to certify your good Lordship, of the truth concerning the grievous sufferings of this heavily injured man William Lithgow. True it is, that this bearer, being bound for Alexandria in Egypt, having with him letters of safe conduct, under the hand and seal of his late Majesty King James of blessed memory, rencountered with us and our fleet at Malaga, whereof I was employed as vice-admiral against the pirates of Algier ; where he repairing aboard of us, and frequenting our company ashore, was presently (after we had set sail) apprehended by command of the governor and magistrates there, as a spy, whom they suspected had of purpose been left behind by our general, and us of the council of war, for the discovery of that place, and other adjacent parts : Whereupon being secretly imprisoned in the governor's palace, and after serious examination of our intention, he was, without any cause done or offered by him, most unjustly put to the cruel rack and tortures, besides all other his unspeakable miseries, which for a long time he sustained thereafter ; whereof I was credibly and infallibly informed by Mr Richard Wilds, to whom he was first discovered, and by other English factors of good note, then resident there, in my repairing divers times to the road of that town with

my squadron of ships, during the time of his long imprisonment, and after his deliverance. And afterward the governor there being better informed of our loyal proceedings in those parts, and to colour their former cruelties, and suspicion had of us, he did wrest the inquisition upon him; where being condemned to death, he had doubtless undergone (as I was likewise truly informed by the aforesaid merchants) the final sentence of their inquisition, if it had not been for the religious care and speedy prevention of Sir Walter Aston, then leiger ambassador there; by whose earnest mediation he being delivered, and afterwards sent home by direction of Sir Robert Maunsel, general. I now commend his grievous and lamentable cause unto your Lordship's tender and religious consideration. Resting, your Lordship's to command, to serve you,

From Fulham, this 10th of

July 1626.

Sir THOMAS BUTTON.

And now to conclude this tragical discourse, the religious eye may perceive God's compassionate love four ways here extended. First, his powerful providence in my long and admirable preservation in prison; hunger, vermin, and tortures, being my comfortless companions. Secondly, The pitiful kindness of his all-seeing eye, in the miraculous wonder of my discovery, when the perverted policy of subtil serpents had wickedly suggested my concealment. Thirdly, His unspeakable mercy in my unlooked for deliverance, being, by hopeless me, not thought nor sought, and yet by his munificence was wrought. And lastly, His gracious goodness in the recovery (after some large measure) of my health and use of body again. All praise and glory be to his majesty therefore *.

God's miraculous mercy in my deliverance.

AND

* Stand amazed at the iniquity of the inquisitors, and the horrors of the inquisition. Behold persecution improved into a science by men of exquisite subtlety and malice, masters in this cursed art, who make a solemn business of racking and torturing their fellow-creatures,

AND finally, merit being masked with the darkness of ingratitude, and the morning spring tide of 1627 come, I set face from court for Scotland, suiting my discontents with a pedestrial progress, and my feet with the palludiate way; where fixing mine eyes on Edinburgh, and prosecuting the tenor of a regal commission, (which partly being somewhere obeyed, and elsewhere suspended), it gave me a large sight of the whole kingdom, both continent and isles: the particular description whereof, in all parts, and of all places, besides ports and rivers, I must refer to the one volume already perfected, intitled *Lithgow's survey of Scotland*, which this work may not contain, nor time suffer to publish, till a fitter occasion; only commenting a little upon some generals, I hasten to be at *finis*.

Traversing the western isles, (whose inhabitants, like to as many bulwarks, are abler and apter to preserve and defend their liberty and precincts from incurfive invasions, than any need of forts or fortified places

creatures, who are grown wise to invent, and dextrous to execute, infinite torments upon innocent Christians, protracting life only to increase misery; who having extinguished all seeds of humanity and tenderness in themselves, have also found a method to harden the hearts of spectators against the least degrees of sympathy, pity, and concern; yea, to inspire them with a hellish joy and triumph over the servants of God, in the extremities of misery, and in agonies inexpressible.

No man sure who can possibly conceive devils half so wicked as the Romish inquisitor, or hell half so terrible as their prisons. Can fallen angels be so base? Can arts so mean, and so barbarous, be practised in hell? Read and tremble, to see any of the human race thus degenerated, and grown more barbarous, by a thousand degrees, than the most savage beasts. Read, and weep over suffering innocency, and virtue in distress. Pity thy brethren in their deep afflictions, in their dismal cells, shut up among crawling vermin within, and friends without. Read and admire at the faith and patience of the saints, who go through these dreadful scenes, supported by an invisible hand of grace, by an inward testimony, by hope in immortality.

Read, Christian, and fall down on thy knees to bless God, who has delivered thee, and thy country, from Popery, the worst plague God ever suffered to spread in our world. — General History of the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal.

*The kindness
received from
the illustrious
Lord the Mar-
quis of Ha-
milton.*

they have, or can be required there, (such is the desperate courage of these awful Hebridians), I arrived, I say, at the isle of Arran, *anno* 1628, where for certain days, in the castle of Braidwick, I was kindly entertained by the illustrious Lord James, Marquis of Hamilton, Earl of Arran and Cambridge, &c.

Whom G O D may strengthen, with the liveliest heart,

And fearless mind of all ev'r fac'd that art,
For Bohem's queen : heavens prosper his intent !
With glorious success, and a brave event ;
That by a king been sped, for a king's sake,
To help a king, all three from him may take
Auspicious service, friendship, faithful love,
'Gainst whom, and his, no time can breach improve.
Let then, great God, blest sparks of favour fall
On his designs, and theirs, our friends, and all ;
And angels guard him : let thy mighty hand,
Partition-like, 'twixt him, and dangers stand :
That martial ends, and victory may crown
His happy hopes, his life, with love renown.

This isle of Arran, is thirty miles long, eight in breadth, and distant from the main twenty-four miles ; being surclouded with Goatfield hill, which, with wide eyes, overlooketh the western continent, and the northern country of Ireland : bringing also to sight, in a clear summer day, the isle of Man, and the higher coast of Cumberland. A larger prospect no mountain in the world can show, pointing out three kingdoms at one sight ; neither is there any isle like to it, for brave gentry, good archers, and hill-hovering hunters. Having again come to the main land, I coasted Galloway, even to the Mull that butteth into the sea, with a large promontory, being the southmost part of the kingdom : and thence footing all that large country to Dumfries, and so to Carlisle ; I found here in Galloway, in divers road-

road-way inns, as good cheer, hospitality, and serviceable attendance, as though I had been ingrafted in Lombardy or Naples.

The wool of which country, is nothing inferior to that of Biscay in Spain; providing they had skill to fine, spin, weave, and labour it as they should: nay, the Calabrian silk had never a better lustre, and softer gripe, than I have seen and touched this growing wool there, on sheeps backs; the mutton whereof excelleth in sweetness. So this country aboundeth in cattle, especially in little horses, which, for mettle and riding, my rather be termed bastard barbs, than Galloway nags.

The nobility and commodities of Galloway excell in goodness.

Likewise their nobility and gentry are as courteous, and every way generously disposed, as either discretion would wish, or honour command. That (Cunninghame being excepted, which may be called the academy of religion, for a sanctified clergy, and a godly people) certainly Galloway is become more civil of late, than any maritime country bordering with the western sea. But now to observe my former summary condition; the length of the kingdom lieth south and north, that is, between Dungby-head in Caithness, and the aforesaid Mull of Galloway; being distant *per rectam lineam*, which my weary feet trod over from point to point, (the way of Lochryne, Carrick, Kyle, Ayr, Glasgow, Striveling, St Johnstone, Stormont, the Blair of Athol, the Brae of Marr, Badenoch, Inverness, Rossie, Sutherland, and so to the north promontory of Caithness) extending to three hundred and twenty miles; which I reckon to be four hundred and fifty English miles: confounding hereby the ignorant presumption of blind cosmographers, who in their maps make England longer than Scotland, when contrariwise, Scotland outstrippeth the other in length a hundred and twenty miles. The breadth whereof, I grant, is narrower than England; yet extending between the extremities of both coasts in divers parts to sixty, eighty, and a hundred of our

Scotland is 120 miles longer than England.

miles:

miles : but because of the sea ingulphing the land, and cutting it in so many angles, making great lakes, bays, and dangerous friths, on both sides of the kingdom, the true breadth thereof cannot justly be conjectured, nor soundly set down.

Our chief fresh water lakes are these. Loch-Lomond, containing twenty-four isles, and in length as many miles, divers whereof are enriched with woods, deer, and other cattle ; the large and long lake of Loch-Tay, in Athol, the mother and god-mother of head-strong Tay, the greatest river in the kingdom : and Lochness, in the higher parts of Moray, the river whereof, (that graceth the pleasant and commodious situation of Inverness) no frost can freeze ; the propriety of which water will quickly melt and dissolve any hard congealed lumps of frozen ice, be it on man or beast, stone or timber.

The chief rivers are Clyde, Tay, Tweed, Forth, Dee, Spey, Nith, Ness, and Dingwalls flood-ingorging lake, that confirmeth *porta salutis* ; being all of them, where they return their tributes to their father Ocean, portable, and, as it were, resting places for turmoiled seas and ships : and the principal towns are Edinburgh, Perth, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen, St Andrews, Ayr, Strive-ling, Lithgow, Dumfries, Inverness, Elgin, Montrose, Jedburgh, Haddington, Leith, &c. ; and for antiquity, old Lanerk, &c.

So the most delicious soils of the kingdom, are these following. First, The bounds of Clyde, or Clydesdale, between Lanerk and Dunbarton, distanced twenty-six miles ; and thence downward to Rossay, that kisseth the divulgements of the river ; the beginning whereof is at Arick-stone, sixteen miles above Lanerk, whose course contendeth for sixty miles : all which, being the best mixed country for corns, meads, pasturage, woods, parks, orchards, castles, palaces, divers kinds of coal, and earth fewel, that our included Albion produceth ; and may justly be furnamed the paradise of Scotland. Besides, it is adorned, on both borders along, with the greatest peers and nobility in the kingdom ;

*Clydesdale is
the paradise
of Scotland.*

dom; the Duke of Lennox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Angus, the Earl of Argyle, and the Earls of Glencairn, Wigton, and Abercorn.

And for Lord Barons, Sempill, Ross, Blantyre, and Dalziel; the chief gentry whereof, are the Knights and Lairds of Luss, Shellmorely, Blackhall, Greenock, New-wark, Houston. Pollock Maxwell, Sir George Elphinston of Blythwood, Minto, Cambusnethen, Calderwood, the two Knights of Lee, and Castlehill, Sir James Lockharts elder and younger, Lamington, Westraw, his Majesty's Gentleman Sewer, Blackwood, Cobinton, Stanebyres, and Corehouse, &c. All which in each degree, as they illuminate the soil with grandure, so the soil reflecteth on them again with beauty, bounty, and riches.

But lest I partial prove, because my breath
First sprung from Lanerk, so my Christian faith,
Where thence (O natal place) my soul did coil,
Blood, spirit, and sense, flesh, birth, life, love, and
soil,

I'll leave Clyde's fragrant fields, resplendent banks,
Bedeck'd with silvans stately beauteous ranks
Of Pandedalian sparks; which lend the light
Of variable colours, best nature's light;
And close these silver shades, that dazzling bloom
'Mongst thickest groves, with many brae fac'd broom;
Strict in the records of eternal fame,
For fight, for gain, for birth, for noble name.

And now the second soil for pleasure is the platformed carse of Gowry, twelve miles long, (wheat, rye, corns, fruit-yards, being its only commodity), which I may term, for its levelled face, to be the garden of Angus, yea, the *Carse and* diamond plot of Tay, or rather the *Moray two* youngest sister of matchless Piedmont; *pleasant soils.* the inhabitants being only defective in affableness, and communicating courtesies of natural things,

things, whence sprung this proverb, *The carles of the Carse.*

The third, and beautiful soil, is the delectable plannure of Moray, thirty miles long, and six in breadth; whose comely grounds, enriched with corns, plantings, pasturage, stately dwellings, over-faced with a generous Octanian gentry, and topped with a noble earl, its chief patron, it may be called a second Lombardy, or pleasant meadow of the north.

Neither may I (abandoning eye-pleasing grounds) seclude here that fudaick bottom, reaching thirty miles betwixt Perth and Montrose, involving the half of Angus, within a fruitful, populous, and nobilitate plannure; the heart whereof saluting Glamis, kisseth Cowpar: so likewise, as thrice-divided Lothian is a gurnal of grain for foreign nations; and Fyfe, betwixt Crail and Largo, the Ceren trenches of a royal camp; the incircling coast, a nest of corporations; and meandering Forth, from tiptoed Snadoun, the prospicuous mirror for matchless majesty: even so is melting Tweed, and weeping Tiviot, the Egyptian strands that irriguate the fertile fields, which imbolster both bosoms, sending their bordering breath of daily necessities to strengthen the life of Berwick.

Now as for the nobility and gentry of the kingdom, certainly, as they are generous, manly, and full of courage; so are they courteous, discreet, learned scholars, well read in best histories, delicate linguists, the most part of them being brought up in France or Italy; that for a general complete worthiness, I never found their matches amongst the best people of foreign nations; being also good house-keepers, affable to strangers, and full of hospitality.

And in a word, the seas of Scotland and the isles abound plentifully in all kinds of fishes, the rivers are ingorged with salmon, the Highland mountains overlaid with fir trees, infinite deer, and all sorts of other bestial;

bestial; the valleys full of pasture and wild fowl, the low-laid plains enriched with beds of grain, justice all-where administered, laws obeyed, malefactors punished, oppressors curbed, the clergy religious, the people sincere professors, and the country peaceable to all men.

The chief commodities whereof, transported beyond sea, are these; wheat, corns, hides, skins, tallow, yarn, linen, salt, coal, herrings, salmon, wool, keilling, ling, turbot, and feaths. And last, and worst, all the gold of the kingdom is daily transported away with superfluous posting for court, whence they never return any thing, save spend all, end all; then farewell fortune. So that numbers of our nobility and gentry now become, with idle projects, down-drawers of destruction upon their own necks, their children, and their estates; and posting postilions, by dissolute courses, to enrich strangers, leave themselves deservedly desolate of lands, means, and honesty for ever: doing even with their former virtue, long continuance, and memory of their noble ancestors, as Mr Knox did with with our glorious churches of abbacies and monasteries, (which were the greatest beauty of the kingdom), knocking all down to desolation; leaving nought to be seen of admirable edifices, but like to the ruins of Troy, Tyre, and Thebes, lumps of walls, and heaps of stones.

*Prodigal and
superfluous
posting from
Scotland to
court.*

So do our ignoble gallants, though nobly born, swallow up the honour of their famous predecessors, with posting foolery, boy-winding horns, gormandizing gluttony, lust, and vain apparel; making a transmigration of perpetuity to their present belly and back. O lascivious ends! which I have justly sifted, in my last work intitled *Scotland's welcome to King Charles*; with all the abuses and grievances of the whole kingdom besides.

But now leaving prodigals to their purgatorial postings, I come to trace through Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness; soils so abundant in all things fit to illustrate greatness,

greatness, embellish gentry, and succour commons, that their fertile goodness far exceeded my expectation, and the affability of the better sort my deservings; being all of them the best, and most bountiful Christmas-keepers (the Greeks excepted) that ever I saw in the Christian world; whose continual incorporate feasting one with another, beginning at St Andrew's day, never end till Shrovetide: which ravished me to behold such great and daily cheer, familiar fellowship, and jovial chearfulness, that methought the whole winter there seemed to me, but the jubilee of one day. And now

A dutiful remembrance of two noble persons.

being arrived at Maji, to embark for Orkney, fight, time, and duty, command me to celebrate these following lines, to gratify the kindness of that noble Lord, George Earl of Caithness, with his honourable cousin, and first accendant of his house, the right worshipful Sir William Sinclair of Cathell Knight, Laird of Maji.

Sir! fighting now thyself, and palace fair,
I find a novelty, and that most rare;
The time though cold and stormy, sharper sun,
And far to summer, scarce the spring begun;
Yet with good luck, in Februar, Saturn's prey,
Have I not sought, and found out fruitful May;
Plank'd with the marine coast, prospective stands,
Right opposite to the Orcade isles and lands:
Where I for flowers, ingorg'd strong grapes of Spain,
And liquor'd French, both red and white amain.
Which palace doth contain two four-squar'd courts,
Graft with brave works, where th' art-drawn pencil
sports

On walls, high chambers, galleries, office-bowers,
Cells, rooms, and turrets, platforms, stately towers;
Where green-fac'd gardens, set at Flora's feet,
Make nature's beauty quick Apelles greet.
All which survey'd, at last the midmost gate,
Design'd to me the arms of that great 'state,

The

The earls of Caithness; to whose praise imbag'd,
 My muse must mount, and here's my pen incadg'd :
 First then their arms; a cross, did me produce
 Limb'd like a scallet, trac'd with flower-du-luce;
 The lion, red, and rag'd, two times divided
 From coin to coin, as heralds have decided :
 The third join'd stance denotes to me a galley,
 That on their sea-rapt foes dare make a fally;
 The fourth a gallant ship, puf't with taunt sail
 'Gainst them their ocean dare, or coast assail;
 On whose bent crest, a pelican doth sit,
 An emblem for like love, drawn wondrous fit :
 Who, as she feeds her young with her heart-blood,
 Denotes these lords, to theirs, like kind, like good :
 Whose best supporters guard both sea and land,
 Two stern-drawn griffins, in their strength do stand :
 Their dictum bears this verdict, for heaven's ode
 Ascrib'd this clause, *Commit thy work to God*.
 O sacred motto ! Bishop Sinclair's strain,
 Who turn'd Fyfe's lord, on Scotland's foes again.
 Lo ! here's the arms of Caithness, here's the stock !
 On which branched boughs rely, as on a rock.
 But further in, I found like arms more patent ;
 To kind Sir William and his line as latent ;
 The premier accade of that noble race,
 Who for his virtue may reclaim the place ;
 Whose arms, with tongue and buckle, now they
 make
 Fast cross sign ty'd, for a fair Lesly's sake.
 The lion hunts oe'r land ; the ship, the sea ;
 The ragged cross, can scale high walls we see ;
 The wing-laid galley, with her factious oars,
 Both heavens and floods command, and circling
 shores ;
 The feather'd griffin flees, O grim-limb'd beast,
 That winging sea and land, upholds this crest ;
 But for the pelican's, life-sprung kind story,
 Makes honour sing, *Virtute et amore* *.

* Sir William Sinclair's motto.

Nay, not by blood; as she herself can do,
 But by her pattern, feeding younglings too;
 For which this patron's crescent stands so stay,
 That neither spite, nor tempest, can shake May;
 Whose 'scutcheons cleave so fast, to top, and side,
 Portends to me, his arms shall ever bide.
 So Murckle's arms are so, except the rose,
 Spread on the cross, which Bothwell's arms disclose;
 Whose uterine blood he is, and present brother
 To Caithness Lord; all three sprung from one mother:

Bothwell's prime heretrix, plight to Hepburn's race,
 From whom religious Murckle's rose I trace,
 This country's instant shrieve; whose virtue rais'd
 His honoured worth, his godly life more prais'd.
 But now to rouse their roots, and how they sprung,
 See how antiquity times triumph sung.

This scallet, worth them blanch'd, for endeavour
 And service done to England's conqueror;
 With whom from France they first to Britain came,
 Sprung from a town, St Clair, now turn'd their
 name.

Whose predecessors, by their val'rous hand,
 Won endless fame, twice in the Holy Land;
 Where, in that Christian war, their blood been lost,
 They loath'd of Gaul, and sought our Albion coast.
 Themselves to Scotland came, in Canmoire's reign,
 With good Queen Marg'ret, and her English train.
 The ship from Orkney sail'd, now rul'd by Charles,
 Whereof they Sinclairs long time had been Earls.
 Whose Lord, then William, was, by Scotland's
 King,

(Call'd Robert Second, First, whence Stewarts
 spring),

Sent with his second son to France, cross'd James,
 Who eighteen years liv'd captivate at Thames.
 This pris'ner last turn'd king, call'd *James the First*,
 Who Sinclair's credit kept in honour's thirst.
 The galley was the badge of Caithness lords,
 As Malcom Canmoire's reign at length records;
 Which

Which was to Magnes given, for service done
 Against Macbeath, usurper of his crown.
 The Lion came, by an heretrix to pass,
 By Marriage; whose sire was firnam'd *Douglas*.
 Where, after him, the Sinclair now record,
 Was sheriff of Dumfries, and Nithsdale's lord;
 Whose wife was niece to good King James the
 Third;
 Who, for exchange, 'twixt Wick and southern
 Nidde,

Did lands incambiate; whence this Caithness foil
 Stands fast for them, the rest their friends recoil.
 Then circle-bounded Caithness, Sinclair's ground,
 Which Pentland frith environs, Orkney's sound;
 Whose top is Dunkane's bay, the root the Ord;
 Long may it long stand fast for their true Lord:
 And as long too, Heavens grant what I require,
 The race of Maji may in that stock aspire;
 Till any age may last, Time's glass be run,
 For earth's last dark eclipse, of no more fun.

Forfaking Caithness, I embraced the trembling surges
 (at Dungsby) of struggling Neptune, which ingorgeth
 Pentland, or Pictland frith, with nine contrarious tides;
 each tide overthwarting another with repugnant cour-
 ses, have such violent streams, and combustious waves,
 that if these dangerous births be not rightly taken in
 passing over, the passengers shall quickly lose sight of
 life and land for ever; yea, and one of these tides is so
 forcible, at the back of Stromaii, that it will carry any
 vessel backward, in despite of the winds, the length of
 its rapid current.

This dreadful frith is in breadth, between the conti-
 nent of Caithness and the isle of South Ranaldshaw in
 Orkney, twelve miles: and I denote this
 credibly, in a part of the north-west end
 of this gulf, there is a certain place of
 sea where these distracted tides make their
 rencountering rendezvous, that whirleth
 ever about, cutting in the middle circle a sloping hole,

*A dangerous
 place in Pent-
 land frith.*

with which, if either ship or boat shall happen to incroach, they must quickly either throw over something into it, as a barrel, a piece of timber, and such like, or that fatal euripus shall then suddenly become their swallowing sepulchre: A custom which those inhabiting Caithness and Orkneys have ever heretofore observed.

Arrived at South Ranauldshaw, an isle of five miles long, and crossing the isle of Burray, I viewed Kirkwall, the metropolis of Pomonia, the main land of Orkney, and the only mistress of all the circumjacent isles, being thirty in number; the chief whereof (besides this tract of ground, in length twenty six, and broad five, six, and seven miles) are, the isles of Sanda, Westra, and Stronza. Kirkwall itself is adorned with the stately and magnificent church of St Magnes, built by the Danes, whose signiory with the isles lately it was; but indeed for the time present more beautified with the godly life of a most venerable and religious bishop, Mr George Graham, whom now I may term (sovereignty excepted) to be the father of the country's government, than ecclesiastic prelate: the inhabitants being left void of a governor, or solid patron, are just become like to a broken battle, a scattered people without a head; having but a burges-sheriff to administer justice, and he too an alien to them, and a resider in Edinburgh: so that in most differences, and questions of importance, the plaintives are inforced to implore the bishop for their judge, and he the adverse party for redress.

But the more remote parts of this ancient little kingdom, as Zetland, and the adjacent isles there, have found such a sting of deo-
Zetland
mightily im-
pooverished by
corrupted go-
vernment.
vular government within these few years, that these once happy isles, which long ago my feet traded over, are metamorphosed in the anatomy of succourless oppression, and the felicity of the inhabitants reinvolved within the closet of a Cittadinean cluster.

But

The continuation of Mr William Lithgow's Travels, left in manuscript ; giving an account of many strange and wonderful rarities and things in Scotland, England, and many other places, not before touched on.

*Returning, now I Britain's wonders show,
And those relating, to a period grow.
My mighty task in various lands is seen,
Which to the wond'ring world has grateful been.
My weary steps, since I this work begun,
Have measur'd earth, and travel'd with the sun.
Then give me leave to rest, when I have told
What I of late in Albion did behold;
Of fowl, wells, rivers, mountains, ruin'd walls,
With miracles the Pope authentic calls ;
And by the way, let Jetzer's story come,
The Papists shame, and brand of cheating Rome.*

HAVING, as aforesaid, trode my native soil, as well as other distant lands, with a kind of toil mixed with pleasure, and seen many rarities in that ancient and honourable kingdom ; where I found in all places worthy entertainment from a generous and liberal nobility and gentry ; many of whose names I have mentioned, that they may stand on record for ever, as patrons of hospitality : Having, I say, footed it from

Remarks on a the Tweed to the Orcades, about four
strange sort hundred miles, where a sort of fowl,
of geese in the called *Gulls* by some, and by others *Ba-*
Orcades. *nacles*, are held to be generated in the
water of a certain blossom dropping off
a tree : And resting a while my weary
limbs, among other curiosities, I inquired into this,
and

and observed the places where they were said to be generated; which was in meers and standing waters, incumbered with flags and rushes; by the brinks of which grew trees like fallows, but with broader leaves, bearing a certain blossom or bud, fused on the top, and indifferent hard in other parts; which coming forth in the beginning of the spring, in a short time falls off by the shaking of the wind, into these waters, and are fancied, by a Pythagorean mystery, to transmigrate into a kind of geese, by the maturing of the sun's heat; which, though a contradiction to reason, that things of one nature, by such a means, should turn into its contrary, and that a vegetable should become an animal, gains a great credit, not only in Scotland, but England; when my opinion is, that those fowls breeding in the flags, and the young ones creeping out in great abundance, and there left by the old ones, who fly from them as soon as they have hatched them, creates the mistake. But not to dwell upon this,

Having seen here the ruins of some churches, monasteries, and castles, laid in rubbish by the Danes, in their fierce war upon this kingdom, pieces of whose walls still remain sad monuments of their cruelty, and made an end of what business I had in these parts, I thought of returning for England, to give the court there an account of my undertakings; which I soon put in execution, and with some regret took leave of my worthy friends Mr Johnson and Mr Libarton, who had accompanied me thither, and splendidly entertained me, as having possessions in those parts. And so having already taken notice of what is extraordinary in this kingdom, I shall omit to relate any thing I saw in my return to the Tweed; and since I have said little yet of England, and the rather till now I have declined it, because it is so perspicuous, I shall think it convenient to give you a general account of some rarities I observed in my viewing divers counties, that may be as pleasing, and well deserving to be known, as the rest I have laid down.

Passing over Salisbury plain, I could not chuse but stop to see that one wonder of the world, so much admired by all that have beheld it, called *Stone-Henge*; and upon view, I found it to be a triple row of stones, circular, placed one within another, of a vast magnitude, reared straight on end, for the most part twenty-eight feet long, and seven feet broad, besides others of a vast bulk, though somewhat less than the upright ones, which are overthwart one from another, fastened with tenents and mortises. People are of various opinions, how such vast stones should be brought thither; and one told me, that it was a common tradition there, that they were brought there by the devil; which made me not a little smile at the fellow's simplicity, who believed it as firmly himself; especially when I considered what the best historians had writ about them, viz. that they were set up as a monument for Hengist, a Saxon, and brother to Horsa, slain there in a mortal battle against the Britains; and this stands on the plain, between six and seven miles from Salisbury.

There is another wonder observed by me, at a place called *Halford*, which is a solid rock, of a considerable bigness, hollow at the top; and in that hollowness the water rises with the flowing of the sea, and with its ebbing sinks again; which much confutes the country people: but in making my observation, I could find no other cause than that; as most agree, the sea being higher than the earth, the springs are conveyed from it by secret conduits under the earth, and so have course and recourse to this rock, as the ocean rises and falls; which is the true cause of it.

Passing over Adderly hills in Gloucestershire, I supposed, at first view, some one or other had scattered oysters and cockles there; but when I went to take them up, tho' they had their perfect resemblance, I found them to be only stones, and brought

The wonderful stones on Salisbury plain.

A wonderful rock near Halford.

Many strange things observed.

brought several of them along with me for a rarity; which I presented to my friends at court, to their great admiration; who, upon inquiry, found them to be natural stones, without transformation, as the country-people hold it, of fish into stones, when the universal deluge carried them out of the sea, and lodged them on the tops of those hills. I saw at Laffington, in the same shire, another wonder, of a found there, which is a stone called a *Star-Stone*, of a grey colour, about the breadth of a single penny, and the thickness of a half-crown. Many of them, where they grow, clustering together, and are easily separated; which done, and they put into vinegar, they naturally move as the needle to the loadstone, till they join to each other.

The peak of Derby, being extraordinarily noted, I could not in my travels omit to visit it, especially upon the account of the dreadful cave, called the *Devil's Arse*, somewhat resembling that of Sybil's in Cuma, which I have mentioned

The peak of Derby, and a strange discovery.

before. It goes into a very deep descent; and out of it, at several times, issues a hollow whistling wind; and in it is heard, in still weather, a singing, or rather howling tone, which the vulgar, especially in Popish times, have taken for the noise of souls tormented, and fabled this an inlet to hell; when, by all the observations I could make, upon strict inquiry, it proceeded from no other than some springs of water that gushed out of the sides of the rock in the deep recess, and passed away by currents, and conveyances under ground to the neighbouring rivers, though Gervasius tells us a fabulous story, that it is an inlet into Fairy Land: for, says he, a swine herd belonging to William de Pe-verel, having lost a sow great with pigs, and hunted all places about the country but this, concluded at last she might be gone into this tremendous cave; and, fearing his master's anger above all things, he resolved to venture into it, though he perished, rather than return home with the news of his loss; and so with

trembling steps he descended a pretty way, when a strong blast of wind met him, and beat him backward; and there he lay a pretty while groveling, before he could recover his feet; but in the end, getting up, and plucking up a good heart, he resolved to take the other touch; and so went down a steep way, till at last, to his great amazement, he saw the glimmering of a light, and by it discerned many rooms and apartments, and springs of water, the sources of rivers, as he fancied, and also heard strange voices; yet this hog keeper undauntedly followed the descent, till the light growing brighter and brighter, after many turnings and windings, he came into a spacious country, where it was harvest-time, and there he found his sow that had newly ferried: and though he was intreated by the inhabitants there to stay, yet all their plenty, and offers of greatness, could not, it seems, entice him from his honourable employment of a swine-herd; but he returned again, with his sow and her pigs, the same way he came into this new world, and told the wonderful things he had seen, which were believed by as many as would give credit to them.

Coming to St Edmondsbury, formerly so famous for the rest of pilgrims, I found the ruins of its ancient monastery, where is still the remains of its ancient grandeur. *The miracle of King Edmond's head.* The circuit appears to have been very large. There are many gates of entrance, and some of them of brass, divers towers, and a stately church; upon which attend three others in one church-yard, very curious and fine for workmanship. This town took its name, or was rather built in memory of King Edmond, a Saxon king; who being overthrown in a mortal battle by the Danes, was bound naked to a stake, and here shot to death. And of him, amongst other miracles, the Papists have fabled this, viz. that his head being cut off, and thrown into a wood by his merciless enemies, divers of his subjects, as soon as they were retired, went to search for it, to bury it with the body, but could not find it; when just as they were about

about to give over any further quest, the head called out aloud, and cried, *Here, here.* Nor did it cease crying, till they were directed to the place; and there they found it, held up between the paws of a fierce and ravenous wolf, without her so much as offering to injure it; but quietly resigning it, she followed them to the place of burial, and would not leave them till the head and body were interred; and then having howled over the grave a while, she retired to the woods. And a thousand miracles were held to be done to such as came and offered at his shrine, over which a stately church was built.

And now I am at Popish miracles, I will give you a view of St Winefrid's well in Flintshire, held in great veneration by Papists at this day, who make secret pilgrimages thither. After my long perambulation in those craggy rough countries, and not much delighted with the mountainous

*The well of
St Winefred,
and other
things.*

situation, fearful overhanging rocks, and deep valleys of water, or mighty water-rills cut by the wearing of the floods, falling in great rains from the mountains, I drew from the place where the devil is fabled by tradition to have his birth. I came within a few miles of this well; and though it lay a little out of my road, I was resolved to spare time to visit it; and being in summer-time, I found divers there, some dipping for devotion, and others fetching the water away in pitchers, for divers uses. This well is but shallow, and not very large in circumference. Out of it runs a pretty stream, that they told me has turned a mill. The stones in the stream and well are many of them speckled with red, which the superstitious hold to be the blood of St Winefrid, shed there in this manner.

It happened one Sunday, when her parents were gone to church, one Caradock, son to Allan, a king of the Pagan Saxons, coming to her as she sat in the house, would have allured her with many gifts and promises to his lust; but she having

*How the well
first sprung
up, &c.*

vowed

vowed chastity, would in no manner consent, but excused herself by her meanness of birth, telling him, what a mighty disparagement it would be to him to meddle with one of her quality. But for all this, seeing him resolutely bent, she went into her chamber, as if she had gone to dress herself, that she might be more acceptable to him, for so he took her going thither to intend; but, on the contrary, she slipped down by a rope, and was running in the fields towards the church, that stood near a mile off, upon a little hill; which he perceiving out at the low window, and being much enraged to be so disappointed, pursued her with his drawn sword, and overtaking her, struck off her head; and, where it fell, this well sprung up, as if the very earth had wept, and gushed out in tears for her death; and as the superstitious Papists say, that by the Holy Virgin's merits, this water cures abundance of diseased persons; which indeed may naturally happen by its mineral virtue, as is seen in other wells. But see a greater wonder: the head cut off, (say they), run down the hill to the church; and there being known, Bishop Bueno took it up, and brought it where the body lay; and there finding the murderer wiping his sword, he imprecated God's judgement on him, and immediately he fell down dead, and sunk into the ground; and after that, the same Bishop set on St Winefrid's head again, and brought her to life.

In Glamorganshire, at a place called *Aberbarry*, there is another rarity, which has formerly been the occasion of many fables, which *The musical cave in Glamorganshire.* is a cave at the bottom of a pretty large hill. At certain times the noise of cymbals, and other music, is heard in it; which was held to be the rejoicing of souls that were about to be delivered out of purgatory by the prayers of the priests, by the poor bigotted Papists, when indeed it is no other than the wind sitting full in the cave's mouth, which is much narrower than the inward part; and there breaking against the cliffs and craggy rocks on the other side, makes a kind of musical harmony as it issues out again.

Near the isle of Barry, there is likewise a cliff or rock,
in

in which there is heard, at certain times, the noise of hammers, as if a great many smiths were smiting upon anvils with mighty sledges. This some will have to be the sounding of the sea echoing from this rock, being porous or hollow within ; and indeed I am apt to be of their opinion.

*Vulcan's
forge.*

But what I more remarkably observed is, at Gigglesworth in Yorkshire, a spring that ebbs and flows four times in an hour ; and another does the same in the forest of the Peak in Derbyshire, observing a constant time of its flux and reflux. And in my Welsh peregrination, which I had almost forgot, there is a very strange wonder, which is a well by the river Ogmorein, that when the sea flows, is very near empty of water ; and when it ebbs, the water springs up in it, contrary to all other wells near the sea that I have ever heard of.

*An ebbing
and flowing
well.*

These, and many other rarities in England, I might mention, which I have observed in my curious survey of the kingdom, not coming short of many that are abroad ; to which, in times past, divers superstitious attributes have been made, of sundry kinds, to awe or draw the devotion of the unthinking vulgar, and fill the coffers of the Romish clergy, who made it their business to impose on the ignorant for their advantage ; each several sort of monastics studying who should out-do the other in contriving some new-invented matter, in or near their convent ; and when they had settled a belief in the people of any miracle or strange thing, they improved it to a vast gain, like mountebanks, striving to draw off each others company. And of these rare adventures, it will not be amiss to tell you of one subtle contrivance at Bearn in Switzerland, so noted through the world ; and the which proved so high a matter of blasphemy in the end, that the contrivers were publicly burnt by the Pope's definitive sentence.

*The remarkable
story of
Jetzer, and
the friars of
Bern.*

It so happened, that the Franciscan friars, working more feigned miracles than the Dominicans, by the pretended

pretended virtue of their saints, the latter grew angry to be out-done, and resolved to repair their disgrace by some new invention; but what it should be, they for a long time could not conclude on. At last, finding the former held that the virgin Mary was born without original sin, and that the people agreed with them in that point, which themselves had not held, they concluded to make their own opinion good; and thereupon held a chapter at Umplen, *anno* 1504, to contrive a method for the supporting their credit, where four of their number undertook to manage the intrigue; which, to repair their lost credit, they undertook to be done by dream or vision, that the people might be that way imposed on. And Bearn was assigned for the scene of this project, where they found one Jetzer, a novice of the convent of Dominicans there, and pitched upon him as a fit tool for their purpose; who being there as a lay-brother, and withal very simple, much inclined to austerities, one of the friars secretly conveyed himself unto his cell or apartment; and there, in a strange figure, appeared to him, the doors being shut, spitting fire out of his mouth through a trunk, insinuating he was come out of purgatory; having a dog with him, which he said was the spirit that tormented him, crying out excessively, that he underwent the pains of purgatory for leaving off the habit of that order. This, through an affrighting vizard, with a terrible and unusual voice, much terrified the poor friar Jetzer. Then the other told him, he might yet be rescued by his means, requiring a promise of him to do what he should require; which Jetzer, in his fright and amazement, promised should be done. Then he told him to perform this, he knowing his sanctity, the whole monastery must discipline themselves a week with a whip, and he lie in one of their chapels, prostrate in the form of one stretched on a cross, in the sight of all that should congregate during the time of mass; and then he should find the effects of the blessed Virgin's love towards him; telling him moreover, that he would appear again with two other spirits, and confirm him of glorious rewards for all he should suffer on his behalf.

Jetzer,

Jetzer, in the morning, gave an account of this supposed spirit's appearing to him; who being confederates in the matter, advised him to do as he was ordered; and each undertook the discipline proposed, he performing his as had been directed in one of the chapels of their church; the rumour of which drew a number of people together as spectators, they confirming and magnifying the miracle to them in their sermons: and the better to understand Jetzer's firmness in this matter, the confessing friar was of the party who scrutinized his very thoughts. They gave him upon this the hosty, with a piece of wood, which they said was part of the true cross, to fortify him in his resolution, and hush his fears.

The succeeding night, the friar, as he had proposed, brought two others with him, in such horrid shapes, that poor Jetzer took them for devils indeed. But he made them retreat at the opposing his hosty and piece of wood; but soon advancing again, and telling him his life and actions, which the confessor had drawn from him, he began to hearken to what they had to say, and thought it was a real apparition. Then they praised the Dominican order, and declared it was excessive dear and near to the blessed Virgin, who knew herself to be conceived in original sin; and that the doctors who had taught the contrary were in purgatory; and named many that had been blotted and branded for affirming the contrary; and then they enjoined him another discipline. After which they departed; and after that appearing again, they told him they were delivered out of purgatory by his sufferings and sanctity; but having died without the sacrament, they must receive it before they went to heaven; and after that say mass for their great charity, who had rescued them out of the pains.

All this while Jetzer imagined this voice resembled that of the prior's; but his resolution to know the end, overcame that suspicion. Soon after this, the same friar appeared to him in a nun's habit, telling him she was St Barbara, for whom he had a very great devotion; and that the holy Virgin was so singularly pleased with his devotion, that she intended to give him a speedy visit.

visit. Upon this, he called the convent together, and gave them an account of what he had seen and heard ; which filled them with seeming wonder, and a longing desire of the accomplishment. There was some intermission before the promised apparition of the blessed Virgin ; but at three days end, the friar came in, habited as the Virgin was used to go on festival days ; and about her seemed to be some little angels, which, in the end, proved no other than the statues of angels, that used to be placed on the altar on high days ; which were raised and lowered, as seeming to fly by the help of cords and pulleys, placed there for the purpose, which made the apparition seem more strange : and after a few majestic paces, the Virgin addressed herself to him with many endearments, extolling his charity and discipline as meritorious ; telling him, she was born in original sin ; and that Pope Julius, then reigning, should put an end to the dispute, and abolish the feast that Pope Sextus IV. had instituted ; and that he should be the instrument to persuade the Pope of the truth of what he had heard.

Things thus forwarded, she gave him, as she said, three drops of her Son's blood, being three tears he shed over Jerusalem ; which were a sign she was three hours in original sin, and then by his mercy delivered out of that state. Then she gave him five drops of blood in the form of the cross, which, she said, were tears she had shed whilst her son was crucifying. After this, to make matters more credible, she gave him a hosty, appearing white at first, but afterward as red as blood, which was supposed to be changed by leger-demain.

These and such like passages, continued several nights. At last, this supposed Virgin came, and declared she would give him such marks of her Son's love, as should remain in his remembrance ; and with that struck his hand through with a nail, though against his will, that he could see the light through it ; which paining him extremely, he supposed an ointment was applied to it ; but his confessor persuaded him it was no such matter, but the fragrance of the holy Virgin's touch.

The ensuing night, the same apparition brought linen

nen cloaths, which had some real or imaginary virtue to allay the pain that he felt by the wound ; saying, they were part of those her Son was wrapped in at his burial ; and then gave him a somniferous draught, which soon cast him into a deep sleep, and imprinted four other flight wounds in his hand, feet, and side, he not feeling them by reason of his stupefaction ; to perform which, they used divers charms and conjurations, mixing ingredients of wickcraft, and the like. The sub-prior to perfect this, renouncing God, signing the act by his blood in a formal writing, dedicating himself to the devil ; but the rest came not into this wicked resignation to the devil, yet they renounced God.

The potion was a mixture of chrism with spring-water, the hair of a child's eye-brows, quicksilver, incense, part of an Easter wax-candle, consecrated salt, and the blood of an unbaptized infant. Such detestable ways have wretches to bring about their temporal gain, even to their own damnation.

These charms so wrought upon poor Jetzer, that being awake, and finding his wounds, he imagined he was really acting the passion of our Saviour ; and thus he was shewed to the people upon the altar, to their great amazement, and the confusion of the Franciscans, who opposed the miracle ; and having given him another draught, which put him into convulsions, there was a voice heard through a hollow pipe, placed in a hole, which remains to this day in the wall of one of the cells, as soon as he came to himself, which seemed to come from the Virgin Mary's picture, which held a little Jesus in her arms ; for the picture being so artificially painted, that it seemed to shed tears ; the child asked the mother, Why she wept ? who answered, Because his honour was given to her ; since it was said, she was born without sin. But the friar so overacted it at last, that Jetzer, by overhearing their discourse, discovered the cheat ; and almost killed a fat friar, who came to him, representing the Virgin Mary, with a crown upon her head, by beating a quart-pot about his ears. So that now seeing he would be no longer imposed upon, they told him their design, and desired him to go

go on with the imposture; but he refusing, they attempted several times to poison him, and once with a sacramental wafer, but he overcame it; then they, by cruel usage, made him swear to comply and never discover it, but get out of the convent. He cast himself into the hands of the magistrates, and discovered the whole intrigue; whereupon four of the friars were imprisoned, and an account of the matter sent to Rome; but it was put off, by the favour of some bishops that were to hear it, for a time: though at last, a Spanish bishop, being impowered by the Pope, caused the friars to be degraded of their priesthood; and being delivered over to the secular power, they were on the last of May 1509, burnt in a meadow over against the great church, which place is now showed to strangers; as also the hole in the wall, through which the feigned voice came.

AND thus you may see the superstition and fallacies of the Romish clergy, and how they fool and bubble the world, by cheats and delusions.

From whose religion shield us, three in one,
The Father, Spirit, and eternal Son;
That no false miracles, or fabl'd lies
May cheat our souls of the immortal prize.

And now to conclude, as a painter may spoil a picture, but not the face; so may some stoical reader misconstrue and misconceive some parts of this eye-let history, though not able to mar the truth of it. Yet howsoever, here is the just relation of nineteen years travels, perfected in three dear bought voyages: the general computation of which large spaces, in my goings, traversings, and returnings, through kingdoms, continents, and islands, which my painful feet traced over (besides my passages of seas and rivers) amounteth to thirty-six thousand and odd miles, which draweth near to twice the circumference of the whole earth. And so farewell.

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